

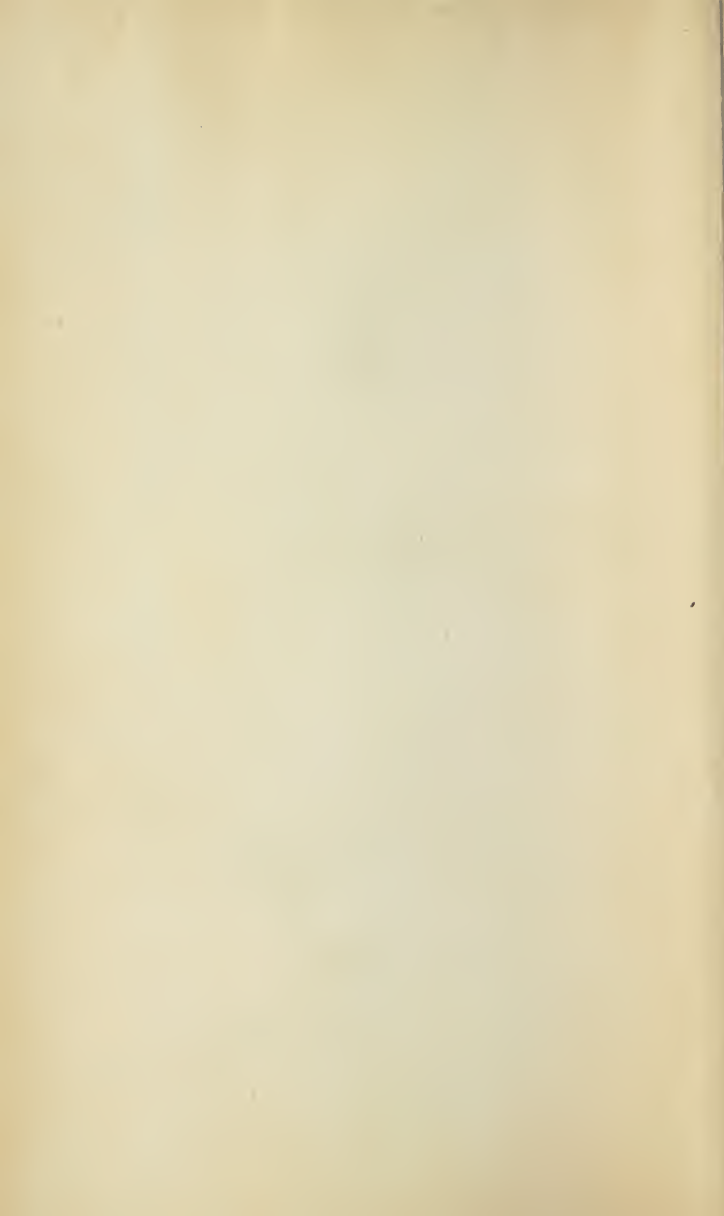




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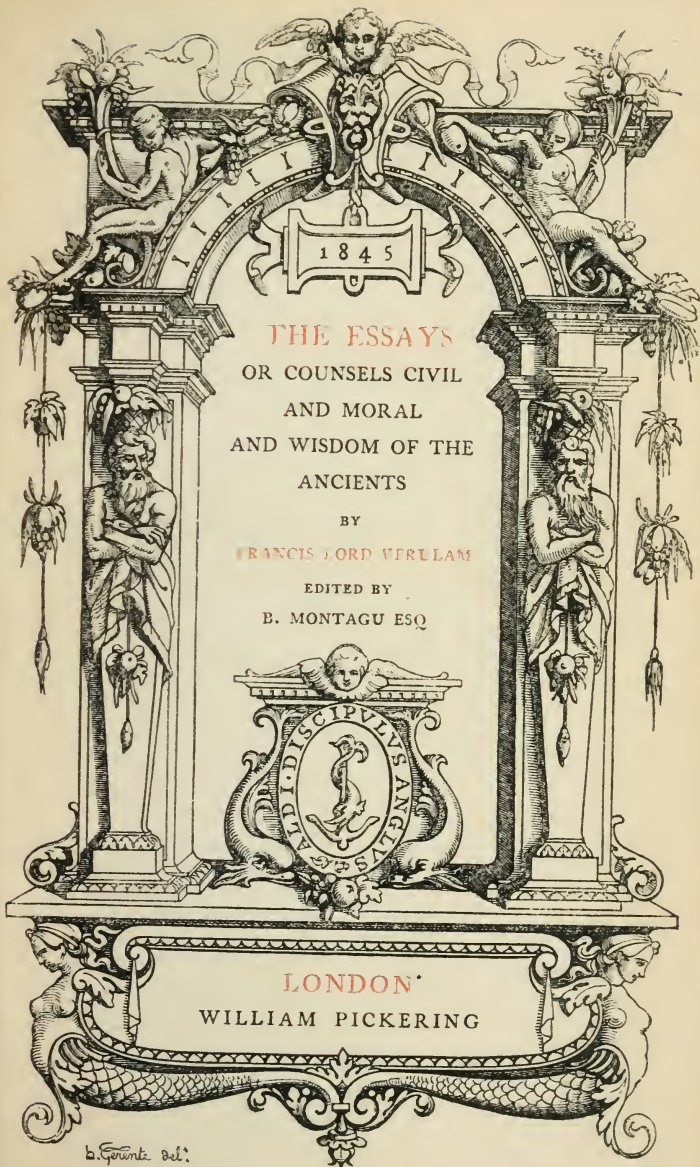






BACON'S ESSAYS AND WISDOM
OF THE ANCIENTS





THE ESSAYS

OR COUNSELS CIVIL
AND MORAL
AND WISDOM OF THE
ANCIENTS

BY

FRANCIS LORD VERULAM


EDITED BY

B. MONTAGU ESQ



LONDON

WILLIAM PICKERING



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ESSAYS.



PREFACE.

IN the early part of the Year 1597 Lord Bacon's first Publication appeared. It is a small 12mo. volume, entitled *Essays, Religious Meditations, Places of Perswasion and Disswasion*. It is dedicated

‘ To M. *Anthony Bacon*, his deare Brother.

Louing and beloued Brother, I doe nowe like some that have an Orchard ill Neighbored, that gather their Fruit before it is ripe, to preuent stealing. These Fragments of my Conceites were going to print, To labour the staie of them had bin troublesome, and subiect to interpretation; to let them passe had beene to aduenture the wrong they mought receiue by vntrue Coppies, or by some Garnishment, which it mought please any that should set them forth to bestow vpon them. Therefore I helde it best as they passed long agoe from my Pen, without any further disgrace, then the weaknesse of the Author. And as I did euer hold, there mought be as great a vanitie in retiring and withdrawing mens conceites (except they bee of some nature) from the

World, as in obtruding them : So in these particulars I haue played myself the Inquisitor, and find nothing to my vnderstanding in them contrarie or infectious to the state of Religion, or Manners, but rather (as I suppose) medecinable. Only I disliked now to put them out, because they will be like the late new Halfe-pence, which, though the Siluer were good, yet the Peeces were small. But since they would not stay with their Master, but would needes trauaile abroade, I haue preferred them to you that are next my selfe, Dedicating them, such as they are, to our Loue, in the depth whereof (I assure you) I sometimes wish your Infirmities translated vppon my selfe, that her *Maiestie* might haue the Seruice of so actiue and able a Mind, and I might be with excuse confined to these Contemplations and Studies for which I am fittest, so commend I you to the Preseruacion of the Diuine Maiestie : From my Chamber at Graies Inne, this 30 of *Januarie*, 1597. Your entire Louing Brother, FRAN. BACON.'

The *Essays*, which are ten in number, abound with condensed Thought and practical Wisdom, neatly, pressly, and weightily stated, and, like all his early Works, are simple, without imagery. They are written in his favourite style of Aphorisms, although each Essay is apparently a continued Work, and without that love of antithesis and false glitter to which truth and justness of thought are frequently sacrificed by the Writers of Maxims.

A second Edition, with a Translation of the *Me-*

ditationes Sacræ, was published in the next Year; and another Edition enlarged in 1612, when he was *Solicitor-general*, containing thirty-eight Essays; and one still more enlarged in 1625, containing fifty-eight Essays, the Year before his death.

The *Essays* in the subsequent Editions are much augmented, according to his own Words, “ I always alter when I add, so that nothing is finished till all is finished,” and they are adorned by happy and familiar Illustration, as in the Essay of *Wisdom for a Man’s self*, which concludes in the edition of 1625, with the following extract, not to be found in the previous edition:—“ *Wisdom for a Man’s Self*, is, in many Branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the *Wisdom of Rats*, that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisdom of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged and made Room for him. It is the *Wisdom of Crocodiles*, that shed tears, when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those, which (as *Cicero* says of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune; whose Wings they thought, by their *Self-Wisdom*, to have pinioned.”

So in the *Essay upon Adversity*, on which he had deeply reflected, before the edition of 1625, when it first appeared, he says: “The Virtue of *Prosperity* is *Temperance*; the Virtue of *Adversity* is *Fortitude*;

which in Morals is the more Heroical Virtue. *Prosperity* is the blessing of the Old Testament; *Adversity* is the Blessing of the New, which carrieth the great Benediction, and the clearer Revelation of God's Favour. Yet, even in the Old Testament, if you listen to *David's* Harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like Airs, as Carols: And the Pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more, in describing the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Solomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Fears and Distastes; and *Adversity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. We see in Needle-works and Embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively Work, upon a Sad and Solemn Ground, than to have a dark and melancholy Work, upon a lightsome Ground: Judge, therefore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Virtue is like precious Odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed: For *Prosperity* doth best discover Vice; but *Adversity* doth best discover Virtue."

The *Essays* were immediately translated into *French* and *Italian*, and into *Latin* by some of his Friends, amongst whom were *Hacket*, Bishop of *Lichfield*, and his constant affectionate Friend, *Ben: Jonson*.

His own estimate of the value of this Work is thus stated in his Letter to the Bishop of *Winchester*: "As for my *Essays*, and some other Particulars of that nature, I count them but as the Recreations of my other Studies, and in that manner purpose to continue them; though I am not ignorant that these

kind of Writings would, with less Pains and Assiduity, perhaps yield more Lustre and Reputation to my Name than the others I have in hand."

Although it was not likely that such Lustre and Reputation would dazzle him, the Admirer of *Phocion*, who, when applauded, turned to one of his Friends and asked, "What have I said amiss?" although popular Judgment was not likely to mislead him who concludes his Observations upon the Objections to Learning, and the Advantages of Knowledge, by saying, "Nevertheless, I do not pretend, and I know it will be impossible for me, by any Pleading of mine, to reverse the Judgment either of *Æsop's* Cock, that preferred the *Barleycorn* before the *Gem*; or of *Midas*, that being chosen Judge between *Apollo*, president of the *Muses*, and *Pan*, God of the Flocks, judged for *Plenty*; or of *Paris*, that judged for *Beauty* and *Love* against *Wisdom* and *Power*. For these Things continue as they have been; but so will that also continue, whereupon Learning hath ever relied and which faileth not, *Justificata est sapientia a filiis suis*:" yet he seems to have undervalued this little Work, which for two Centuries, has been favourably received by every Lover of Knowledge and of Beauty, and is now so well appreciated that a celebrated Professor of our own Times truly says: "The small Volume to which he has given the Title of '*Essays*,' the best known and the most popular of all his Works, is one of those where the superiority of his Genius appears to the greatest advantage, the

novelty and depth of his Reflections often receiving a strong relief from the triteness of the subject. It may be read from beginning to end in a few hours ; and yet after the twentieth Perusal one seldom fails to remark in it something overlooked before. This, indeed, is a Characteristic of all *Bacon's* Writings, and is only to be accounted for by the inexhaustible Aliment they furnish to our own Thoughts and the sympathetic Activity they impart to our torpid Faculties."

During his Life six or more Editions, which seem to have been pirated, were published ; and after his Death, two spurious Essays, "*Of Death*," and "*Of a King*," the only authentic posthumous Essay being the *Fragment of an Essay on Fame*, which was published by his Friend and Chaplain Dr. *Rawley*.

This Edition is a Transcript of the Edition of 1625, with the Posthumous Essays. In the *Life of Bacon** there is a minute Account of the different Editions of the *Essays* and of their Contents.

They may shortly be stated as follows :

First Edition, 1597, genuine.

There are two Copies of this Edition in the *University Library at Cambridge* : and there is Archbishop *Sancroft's* Copy in *Emanuel Library* : there is a Copy in the *Bodleian*, and I have a Copy.

Second Edition, 1598, genuine.

Third Edition, 1606, pirated.

* By *B. Montagu*. Appendix, note 3 I.

Fourth Edition, entitled, “*The Essaies of Sir Francis Bacon, Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall. Imprinted at London by Iohn Beale, 1612,*” genuine. It was the Intention of Sir *Francis* to have dedicated this Edition to *Henry* Prince of *Wales*; but he was prevented by the Death of the Prince on the 6th of *November* in that year. This appears by the following Letter :

To the most high and excellent Prince, *Henry*,
Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of
Chester.

It may please your Highness,—Having divided my Life into the contemplative and active part, I am desirous to give his Majesty and your Highness of the Fruits of both, simple though they be. To write just Treatises, requireth leisure in the Writer and leisure in the Reader, and therefore are not so fit, neither in regard of your Highness’s princely Affairs nor in regard of my continual Service; which is the cause that hath made me choose to write certain brief Notes, set down rather significantly than curiously, which I have called *Essays*. The word is late, but the thing is ancient; for *Seneca’s Epistles to Lucilius*, if you mark them well, are but *Essays*, that is, dispersed Meditations though conveyed in the form of *Epistles*. These Labours of mine, I know, cannot be worthy of your Highness, for what can be worthy of you? But my hope is, they may be as grains of Salt, that will rather give you an Appetite than offend

you with Satiety. And although they handle those things wherein both Men's lives and their persons are most conversant; yet what I have attained I know not; but I have endeavoured to make them not vulgar, but of a nature whereof a Man shall find much in Experience and little in Books; so as they are neither Repetitions nor Fancies. But, however, I shall most humbly desire your Highness to accept them in gracious part, and to conceive, that if I cannot rest but must shew my dutiful and devoted Affection to your Highness in these things which proceed from myself, I shall be much more ready to do it in Performance of any of your princely Commandments. And so wishing your Highness all princely Felicity, I rest your Highness' most humble Servant,

1612.

FR. BACON.

It was dedicated as follows :

To my loving Brother, Sir *John Constable*, Knt.

My last *Essaies* I dedicated to my deare Brother Master Anthony Bacon, who is with God. Looking amongst my Papers this vacation, I found others of the same nature : which if I myselfe shall not suffer to be lost, it seemeth the World will not; by the often printing of the former. Missing my Brother, I found you next; in respect of bond both of neare Alliance, and of straight Friendship and Societie, and particularly of communication in Studies. Wherein I must acknowledge my selfe beholding to you. For

as my Businesse found rest in my Contemplations ;
 so my Contemplations ever found rest in your loving
 Conference and Judgment. So wishing you all good,
 I remaine your louing Brother and Friend,

FRA. BACON.

Fifth Edition, 1612, pirated. Sixth Edition,
 1613, pirated. Seventh Edition, 1624, pirated.
 Eighth Edition, 1624, pirated. Ninth Edition, en-
 titled, *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall,*
of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban. Newly
enlarged. London, Printed by Iohn Haviland for
Hanna Barret and Richard Whitaker, and are to be
sold at the Signe of the King's Head in Paul's Church-
yard. 1625, genuine.

This Edition is a small quarto of 340 pages ; it
 clearly was published by Lord *Bacon* ; and in the
 next year, 1626, Lord *Bacon* died. The Dedication
 is as follows, to the Duke of *Buckingham* :

To the Right Honorable my very good Lo. the Duke
 of *Buckingham* his Grace, Lo. High Admirall of
England.

Excellent Lo.—*Salomon* saies, A good Name is as
 a precious Oyntment ; and I assure myselfe, such wil
 your Grace's Name bee, with Posteritie. For your
 Fortune and Merit both, haue beene eminent. And
 you haue planted things that are like to last. I doe
 now publish my *Essayes* ; which, of all my other
 Workes, have beene most currant : for that, as it

feemes, they come home to Mens Businesse and Bo-
somes. I haue enlarged them both in number and
weight, so that they are indeed a new Work. I
thought it therefore agreeable to my Affection, and
Obligation to your Grace, to prefix your Name be-
fore them, both in *English* and in *Latine*. For I doe
conceiue, that the *Latine* Volume of them (being in
the vniuerfal language) may last as long as Bookes last.
My *Instauration* I dedicated to the King: my *His-
torie of Henry the Seventh*, (which I haue now also
translated into *Latine*) and my Portions of *Naturall
History*, to the Prince: and these I dedicate to your
Grace: being of the best Fruits, that by the good
encrease which God gives to my pen and labours, I
could yeeld. God leade your Grace by the Hand.
Your Graces most obliged and faithfull Seruant,

FR. ST. ALBAN.

Of this Edition Lord *Bacon* sent a copy to the
Marquis *Fiat*, with the following letter: *

Monfieur l'Ambassadeur mon Filz,—Voyant que
vostre Excellence faict et traite Mariages, non seule-
ment entre les Princes d'*Angleterre* et de *France*,
mais aussi entre les langues (puis que faictes traduire
mon Liure de l'*Advancement des Sciences en Fran-
cois*) i'ai bien voulu vous envoyer mon Liure derniere-
ment imprimé que i'avois pourueu pour vous, mais
i'estois en doubte, de le vous envoyer, pour ce qu'il

* *Baconiana*, 201.

estoit escrit en *Anglois*. Mais a' cest'heure pour la raison susdicte ie le vous envoie. C'est un Recompilement de mes *Essays Morales et Civiles*; mais tellement enlargiés et enrichiés, tant de nombre que de poix, que c'est de fait un ouvre nouveau. Je vous baise les mains, et reste vostre tres affectionnée Ami, et tres humble Serviteur.

The same in English.

My Lord Ambassador, my Son,—Seeing that your Excellency makes and treats of Marriages, not only betwixt the Princes of *France* and *England*, but also betwixt their languages (for you have caused my Book of the *Advancement of Learning* to be translated into *French*), I was much inclined to make you a present of the last Book which I published, and which I had in readiness for you. I was sometimes in doubt whether I ought to have sent it to you, because it was written in the *English* Tongue. But now, for that very reason, I send it to you. It is a Recompilement of my *Essays Moral and Civil*; but in such manner enlarged and enriched both in number and weight, that it is in effect a new Work. I kiss your hands, and remain your most affectionate Friend and most humble Servant, &c.

Of the Translation of the *Essays* into *Latin*, *Bacon* speaks in the following Letter:—

“ To Mr. Tobie Mathew.—It is true my labours are now most set to have those Works which I had

formerly published, as that of *Advancement of Learning*, that of *Henry VII.*, that of the *Essays*, being retractate and made more perfect, well translated into *Latin* by the help of some good pens which forsake me not. For these modern Languages will, at one time or other, play the bankrupt with Books; and since I have lost much time with this Age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave, to recover it with Posterity. For the *Essay of Friendship*, while I took your speech of it for a cursory request, I took my Promise for a compliment. But since you call for it, I shall perform it."

In his Letter to Father *Fulgentio*, giving some account of his Writings, he says, "The *Novum Organum* should immediately follow; but my Moral and Political Writings step in between as being more finished. These are the *History of King Henry VII.*, and the small Book, which in your language you have called *Saggi Morali*, but I give it a graver title, that of *Sermones Fideles*, or *Interiora Rerum*, and these *Essays* will not only be enlarged in number, but still more in substance."

The nature of the *Latin* Edition and of the *Essays* in general is thus stated by Archbishop *Tenison* :

"*The Essays, or Counsels Civil and Moral*, though a by-work also, do yet make up a Book of greater weight by far than the Apothegms: and coming home to Men's Business and Bosoms, his Lordship entertained this persuasion concerning them, that the *Latin* Volume might last as long as books should last. His

Lordship wrote them in the *English* Tongue, and enlarged them as occasion served, and at last added to them the *Colours of Good and Evil*, which are likewise found in his book *De Augmentis*. The *Latin* Translation of them was a Work performed by divers hands; by those of Dr. *Hacket* (late Bishop of *Lichfield*), Mr. *Benjamin Jonson* (the learned and judicious Poet), and some others, whose names I once heard from Dr. *Rawley*, but I cannot now recall them. To this *Latin* Edition he gave the title of *Sermones Fideles*, after the manner of the *Jews*, who called the words Adagies or Observations of the Wise, Faithful Sayings; that is, credible Propositions worthy of firm assent and ready acceptance. And (as I think) he alluded more particularly, in this title, to a passage in *Ecclesiastes*, where the Preacher saith that he sought to find out Verba Delectabilia (as *Tremellius* rendereth the Hebrew), pleasant words (that is, perhaps, his *Book of Canticles*;) and Verba Fidelia (as the same *Tremellius*), Faithful Sayings; meaning, it may be, his Collection of *Proverbs*. In the next Verse, he calls them Words of the Wise, and so many goads and nails given *Ab eodem pastore*, from the same Shepherd [of the flock of Israel].”

In the year 1638, *Rawley* published in folio a Volume containing amongst other works, *Sermones Fideles, ab ipso Honoratissimo Auctore, præterquam in paucis, Latinitate donati*. In his address to the reader he says: *Accedunt, quas prius Delibationes Civiles et Morales inscripserat; Quas etiam in Lin-*

guas plurimas Modernas translatas esse novit ; sed eas postea, & Numero, & Pondere, auxit ; In tantum, ut veluti Opus Novum videri possint ; Quas mutato Titulo, Sermones Fideles, sive Interiora Rerum, inscribi placuit. The Title-page and Dedication are annexed : *Sermones Fideles sive Interiora Rerum. Per Franciscum Baconum Baronem de Verulamio, Vice-Comitem Sancti Albani. Londini Excusum typis Edwardi Griffin. Prostant ad Insignia Regia in Cœmeterio D. Pauli, apud Richardum Whitakerum, 1638.*

Illustri & Excellenti Domino Georgio Duci Buckinghamiæ, Summo Angliæ Admirallio.

Honoratissime Domine, Salomon inquit, Nomen bonum est instar Unguenti fragrantis & pretiosi ; Neque dubito, quin tale futurum sit Nomen tuum apud Posteror. Etenim & Fortuna, & Merita tua, præcelluerunt. Et videris ea plantasse, quæ sint duratura. In lucem jam edere mihi visum est Delibationes meas, quæ ex omnibus meis Operibus fuerunt acceptissimæ : Quia forsitan videntur, præ cæteris, Hominum Negotia stringere, & in sinus fluere. Eas autem auxi, & Numero, & Pondere ; In tantum, ut planè Opus Novum sint. Consentaneum igitur duxi, Affectui, & Obligationi meæ, erga Illustrissimam Dominationem tuam, ut Nomen tuum illis præfigam, tam in Editione Anglicâ, quam Latinâ. Etenim, in bonâ spe sum, Volumen earum in Latinam, (Linguam scilicet universalem,) versum, posse durare, quamdiù Libri &

Literæ durent. *Instaurationem* meam *Regi* dicavi : *Historiam Regni Henrici Septimi*, (quam etiam in *Latinum* verti & Portiones meas *Naturalis Historiæ*, *Principi* : Has autem *Delibationes Illustrissimæ Dominationi* tuæ dico ; Cùm sint, ex *Fructibus* optimis, quos *Gratia* divinâ *Calami* mei laboribus indulgente, exhibere potui. *Deus Illustrissimam Dominationem* tuam manu ducat. *Illustrissimæ Dominationis* tuæ *Servus* Devotissimus et Fidelis, FR. S. ALBAN.

In the year 1618, the *Essays*, together with the *Wisdom of the Ancients*, was translated into *Italian*, and dedicated to *Cosmo de Medici*, by *Tobie Mathew* ; and in the following year the *Essays* were translated into *French* by Sir *Arthur Gorges*, and printed in *London*.

Wisdom of the Ancients.

In the year 1609, as a relaxation from abstruse speculations, he published in *Latin* his interesting little Work, *De Sapientia Veterum*.

This Tract seems, in former times, to have been much valued. The Fables, abounding with a union of deep thought and poetic beauty, are thirty-one in Number, of which a part of *The Sirens*, or *Pleasures*, may be selected as a Specimen.

In this Fable he explains the common but erroneous Supposition, that Knowledge and the Conformity of the Will, knowing and acting, are convertible Terms.—Of this Error he, in his Essay of *Custom*

and Education, admonishes his Readers, by saying, “ Men’s Thoughts are much according to their Inclination ; their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning and infused Opinions, but their Deeds are after as they have been accustomed ; *Æsop’s* Damsel, transformed from a Cat to a Woman, sat very demurely at the board-end till a Mouse ran before her.”—In the Fable of the *Sirens* he exhibits the same Truth, saying, “ The Habitation of the *Sirens* was in certain pleasant Islands, from whence, as soon as out of their watch-tower they discovered any Ships approaching, with their sweet Tunes they would first entice and stay them, and, having them in their power, would destroy them ; and, so great were the mischiefs they did, that these Isles of the *Syrens*, even as far off as man can ken them, appeared all over white with the Bones of unburied Carcasses : by which it is signified that albeit the examples of Afflictions be manifest and eminent, yet they do not sufficiently deter us from the wicked Enticements of Pleasure.”

The following is the Account of the different Editions of this work :—The first was published in 1609. In February 27, 1610, Lord *Bacon* wrote to Mr. Mathew, upon sending his Book *De Sapientia Veterum* :

“ Mr. Mathew,—I do very heartily thank you for your Letter of the 24th of *August* from *Salamanca* ; and in Recompence therefore I send you a little Work of mine that hath begun to pass the World.

They tell me my *Latin* is turned into Silver, and become current: had you been here, you should have been my Inquisitor before it came forth; but, I think, the greatest Inquisitor in *Spain* will allow it. But one thing you must pardon me if I make no haste to believe, that the World should be grown to such an ecstasy as to reject Truth in Philosophy, because the Author dissenteth in Religion; no more than they do by *Aristotle* or *Averroes*. My great Work goeth forward; and after my manner, I alter even when I add; so that nothing is finished till all be finished. This I have written in the midst of a Term and Parliament; thinking no time so possessed, but that I should talk of these matters with so good and dear a Friend. And so with my wonted Wishes I leave you to *God's* Goodness.

“From *Gray's Inn*, Feb. 27, 1610.”

And in his Letter to Father *Fulgentio*, giving some account of his Writings, he says, “My *Essays* will not only be enlarged in Number, but still more in Substance. Along with them goes the little Piece *De Sapientia Veterum*.”

In the *Advancement of Learning* he says, “There remaineth yet another Use of Poesy parabolical, opposite to that which we last mentioned: for that tendeth to demonstrate and illustrate that which is taught or delivered, and this other to retire and obscure it: that is, when the Secrets and Mysteries of Religion, Policy, or Philosophy, are involved in Fa-

bles or Parables. Of this in Divine Poefy we fee the Ufe is authorized. In Heathen Poefy we fee the expofition of Fables doth fall out fometimes with great felicity; as in the Fable that the Giants being overthrown in their War againft the Gods, the *Earth*, their Mother, in revenge thereof brought forth *Fame*:

*Illam Terra parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progenit,*

expounded, that when Princes and Monarchs have fuppreffed actual and open Rebels, then the Malignity of the People, which is the Mother of Rebellion, doth bring forth Libels and Slanders, and Taxations of the State, which is of the fame kind with Rebellion, but more feminine. So in the Fable, that the reft of the Gods having confpired to bind *Jupiter*, *Pallas* called *Briareus* with his hundred Hands to his aid; expounded, that Monarchies need not fear any Curbing of their Abfoluteneſs by mighty Subjects, as long as by Wiſdom they keep the Hearts of the People, who will be fure to come in on their Side. So in the Fable, that *Achilles* was brought up under *Chiron* the Centaur, who was part a Man and part a Beaſt, expounded ingeniouſly, but corruptly by *Machiavel*, that it belongeth to the Education and Discipline of Princes to know as well how to play the part of the Lion in violence, and the Fox in guile, as of the Man in virtue and juſtice. Nevertheleſs,

in many the like encounters, I do rather think that the Fable was first, and the Exposition then devised, than that the Moral was first, and thereupon the Fable framed. For I find it was an ancient vanity in *Chrysippus*, that troubled himself with great Contentment to fasten the Assertions of the *Stoics* upon the Fictions of the ancient Poets; but yet that all the Fables and Fictions of the Poets were but pleasure and not figure, I interpose no opinion. Surely of those Poets which are now extant, even *Homer* himself, (notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the latter Schools of the *Grecians*,) yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his Fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning; but what they might have upon a more original Tradition, is not easy to affirm; for he was not the Inventor of many of them."

In the treatise *De Augmentis*, the same Sentiments will be found with a slight alteration in the expressions. He says, "there is another use of Parabolical Poesy opposite to the former, which tendeth to the folding up of those things, the Dignity whereof deserves to be retired and distinguished, as with a drawn curtain: that is, when the Secrets and Mysteries of Religion, Policy, and Philosophy are veiled and invested with Fables and Parables. But whether there be any mystical sense couched under the ancient Fables of the Poets, may admit some doubt: and indeed for our part we incline to this opinion, as to think that there was an infused Mystery in many of the ancient Fables

of the Poets. Neither doth it move us that these matters are left commonly to Schoolboys and Grammarians, and so are embased, that we should therefore make a slight judgment upon them: but contrariwise, because it is clear that the Writings which recite those Fables, of all the Writings of Men, next to *Sacred Writ*, are the most ancient: and that the Fables themselves are far more ancient than they (being they are alleged by those Writers, not as excogitated by them, but as credited and recepled before) seem to be, like a thin rarefied air, which from the Traditions of more ancient Nations, fell into the Flutes of the *Grecians*.

Of this Tract, Archbishop *Tenison* in his *Baconiana*, says, “In the seventh Place, I may reckon his book *De Sapientia Veterum*, written by him in *Latin*, and set forth a second time with enlargement; and translated into *English* by Sir *Arthur Gorges*: a Book in which the Sages of former times are rendered more wise than it may be they were, by so dextrous an Interpreter of their Fables. It is this Book which Mr. *Sandys* means, in those Words which he hath put before his Notes on the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*. ‘Of modern Writers, I have received the greatest Light from *Geraldus*, *Pontanus*, *Ficinus*, *Vives*, *Comes*, *Scaliger*, *Sabinus*, *Pierius*, and the Crown of the latter, the Viscount of *St. Albans*.’

“It is true, the Design of this Book was Instruction in natural and civil matters, either couched by

the Ancients under those Fictions, or rather made to seem to be so by his Lordship's Wit, in the opening and applying of them. But because the first ground of it is poetical Story, therefore let it have this place, till a fitter be found for it."

The Author of *Bacon's Life*, in the *Biographia Britannica*, says, "That he might relieve himself a little from the Severity of these Studies, and as it were amuse himself with erecting a magnificent Pavilion, while his great Palace of Philosophy was building: he composed and sent abroad in 1610, his celebrated Treatise *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients*, in which he showed that none had studied them more closely, was better acquainted with their beauties, or had pierced deeper into their meaning. There have been very few Books published, either in this or in any other Nation, which either deserved or met with more general applause than this, and scarce any that are like to retain it longer, for in this Performance Sir *Francis Bacon* gave a singular proof of his Capacity to please all parties in Literature, as in his political conduct he stood fair with all the parties in the Nation. The Admirers of Antiquity were charmed with this Discourse, which seems expressly calculated to justify their admiration; and, on the other hand, their opposites were no less pleased with a piece, from which they thought they could demonstrate that the Sagacity of a modern Genius had found out much better Meanings for the Ancients than ever were meant by them."

And *Mallet*, in his *Life of Bacon*, says, “In 1610 he published another Treatise, entitled *Of the Wisdom of the Ancients*. This Work bears the same stamp of an original and inventive genius with his other Performances. Resolving not to tread in the steps of those who had gone before him, Men, according to his own expression, not learned beyond certain common places, he strikes out a new Tract for himself, and enters into the most secret Recesses of this wild and shadowy Region, so as to appear new on a known and beaten Subject. Upon the whole, if we cannot bring ourselves readily to believe that there is all the physical, moral, and political Meaning veiled under those Fables of Antiquity, which he has discovered in them, we must own that it required no common penetration to be mistaken with so great an appearance of probability on his side. Though it still remains doubtful whether the Ancients were so knowing as he attempts to shew they were, the variety and depth of his own knowledge are, in that very attempt unquestionable.”

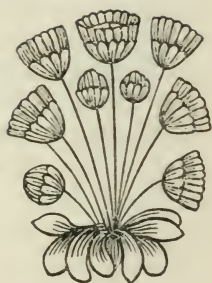
In the year 1619, this Tract was translated by Sir *Arthur Gorges*. Prefixed to the Work are two Letters; the one to the Earl of *Salisbury*, the other to the University of *Cambridge*, which *Gorges* omits, and dedicates his translation to the high and illustrious Princess the Lady *Elizabeth* of Great Britain, Duchess of *Baviare*, Countess Palatine of *Rheine*, and Chief Electress of the Empire.

This Translation, it should be noted, was pub-

lished during the Life of Lord *Bacon* by a great Admirer of his Works.

The editions of this work with which I am acquainted are :

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Language.</i>	<i>Printer.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Size.</i>
1609	<i>Latin</i>	<i>R. Barker</i>	<i>London</i>	12mo.
1617	Ditto	<i>J. Bill</i>	Ditto	Ditto.
1618	<i>Italian</i>	<i>G. Bill</i>	Ditto	Ditto.
1619	<i>English</i>	<i>J. Bill</i>	Ditto	Ditto.
1620	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto.
1633	<i>Latin</i>	<i>F. Maire</i>	<i>Lug. Bat.</i>	Ditto.
1634	Ditto	<i>F. Kingston</i>	<i>London</i>	Ditto.
1638	Ditto	<i>E. Griffin</i>	Ditto	Folio.
1691	Ditto	<i>H. Wetstein</i>	<i>Amsterdam</i>	12mo.
1804	<i>French</i>	<i>H. Frantin</i>	<i>Dijon</i>	8vo.





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ESSAYS.

I. Of Truth.



WHAT *is Truth?* said jesting *Pilate*; and would not stay for an Answer. Certainly there be, that delight in Giddiness; and count it a Bondage, to fix a Belief; affecting Free-will in Thinking, as well as in Acting. And though the Sects of Philosophers of that Kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing Wits, which are of the same Veins, though there be not so much Blood in them, as was in those of the Ancients. But it is not only the Difficulty, and Labour, which Men take in finding out of *Truth*; Nor again, that when it is found, it imposeth upon men's Thoughts; that doth bring *Lies* in favour: But a natural, though corrupt, Love, of the *Lie* itself. One of the later Schools of the Grecians examineth the matter, and is at a stand, to think what should be in it that men should love *Lies*; where neither they make for Pleasure, as with Poets; nor for Advantage, as with the

Merchant; but for the *Lie's* sake. But I cannot tell: This same *Truth* is a naked, and open Daylight, that doth not show the Masques, and Mummeries, and Triumphs of the world, half so stately, and daintily, as Candlelights. *Truth* may perhaps come to the price of a Pearl, that sheweth best by Day: But it will not rise to the Price of a Diamond, or Carbuncle, that sheweth best in varied Lights. A mixture of a *Lie* doth ever add Pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken out of Men's Minds, vain Opinions, flattering Hopes, false Valuations, Imaginations as one would, and the like; but it would leave the Minds of a Number of Men, poor shrunken Things; full of Melancholy, and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves? One of the Fathers, in great Severity, called Poesy, *Vinum Dæmonum*; because it filleth the Imagination; and yet it is but with the Shadow of a *Lie*. But it is not the *Lie*, that passeth through the Mind, but the *Lie* that sinketh in, and settleth in it, that doth the Hurt, such as we spake of before. But howsoever these things are thus, in Men's depraved Judgments, and Affections; yet *Truth*, which only doth judge itself, teacheth, that the Inquiry of *Truth*, which is the Love-making, or Wooing of it; the Knowledge of *Truth*, which is the Presence of it; and the Belief of *Truth*, which is the enjoying of it; is the Sovereign Good of human Nature.

The first Creature of God, in the Works of the Days, was the Light of the Sense; the last was the

Light of Reason ; and his Sabbath Work, ever since, is the Illumination of his Spirit. First he breathed Light upon the Face of the Matter, or Chaos ; then he breathed Light into the Face of Man ; and still he breatheth and inspireth Light into the Face of his Chosen. The Poet, that beautified the Sect, that was otherwise inferior to the rest, saith yet excellently well : *It is a Pleasure to stand upon the Shore, and to see Ships tost upon the Sea : a Pleasure to stand in the Window of a Castle, and to see a Battle, and the Adventures thereof, below : But no Pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage Ground of Truth ;* (A Hill not to be commanded, and where the Air is always clear and serene) : *and to see the Errors, and Wanderings, and Mists, and Tempests, in the Vale below :* So always, that this Prospect be with Pity, and not with Swelling, or Pride. Certainly, it is Heaven upon Earth to have a Man's Mind move in Charity, rest in Providence, and turn upon the Poles of *Truth*.

To pass from Theological and Philosophical *Truth*, to the *Truth* of civil Business ; it will be acknowledged, even by those that practise it not, that clear and round dealing is the Honour of Man's Nature ; and that Mixture of Falsehood is like Alloy in Coin of Gold and Silver, which may make the Metal work the better, but it embaseth it. For these winding and crooked Courses, are the Goings of the *Serpent* ; which *goeth* basely *upon the belly*, and not upon the Feet. There is no Vice, that doth so cover a Man

with Shame, as to be found false and perfidious. And therefore *Montaigne* saith prettily, when he enquired the reason why the Word of the *Lie* should be such a Disgrace, and such an Odious Charge? Saith he, *If it be well weighed, To say that a Man lieth, is as much as to say, That he is brave towards God, and a Coward towards Men.* For a *Lie* faces God, and shrinks from Man. Surely the Wickedness of Falsehood, and Breach of Faith, cannot possibly be so highly expressed, as in that it shall be the last Peal, to call the Judgments of God upon the Generations of Men, it being foretold, that when Christ cometh, *He shall not find Faith upon the Earth.*

II. Of Death.



EN fear *Death*, as Children fear to go in the Dark. And as that Natural Fear in Children is encreased with Tales, so is the other. Certainly, the Contemplation of *Death*, as the *Wages of Sin*, and Passage to another World, is holy, and religious; but the Fear of it, as a Tribute due unto Nature, is weak. Yet in religious Meditations, there is sometimes, Mixture of Vanity, and of Superstition. You shall read, in some of the Friars' Books of *Mortification*, that a Man should think with himself, what the Pain is, if he have but his Finger's End pressed, or tortured; and

thereby imagine what the Pains of *Death* are, when the whole Body is corrupted and dissolved: when many times *Death* passeth with less pain, than the Torture of a Limb: For the most vital parts are not the quickest of Sense. And by him, that spake only as a Philosopher and Natural Man, it was well said; *Pompa Mortis magis terret, quàm Mors ipsa*: Groans and Convulsions, and a discoloured Face, and Friends weeping, and Blacks, and Obsequies, and the like, shew *Death* Terrible. It is worthy the observing, that there is no Passion in the Mind of Man so weak, but it mates and masters the Fear of *Death*. And therefore Death is no such terrible Enemy, when a man hath so many Attendants about him, that can win the Combat of him. *Revenge* triumphs over *Death*; *Love* flights it; *Honour* aspireth to it; *Grief* flieth to it; *Fear* pre-occupateth it: Nay, we read, after *Otho* the Emperor had slain himself, *Pity* (which is the tenderest of Affections) provoked many to die, out of mere Compassion to their Sovereign, and as the truest sort of Followers. Nay, *Seneca* adds, *Nicenesis and Satiety*; *Cogita quàm diù eadem feceris*; *Mori velle, non tantùm Fortis, aut Miser, sed etiam Fastidiosus potest*. A Man would die, though he were neither valiant nor miserable, only upon a Weariness to do the same thing, so oft over and over. It is no less worthy to observe, how little Alteration, in good Spirits, the Approaches of *Death* make; for they appear to be the same Men, till the last Instant. *Augustus Cæsar* died in a Compliment; *Livia*, con-

jugii nostri memor, vive, et vale. Tiberius in Diffimulation; as Tacitus saith of him; *Jam Tiberium Vires, et Corpus, non Diffimulatio deserebant.* Vespasian in a Jest; sitting upon the Stool, *Ut puto Deus fio.* Galba with a Sentence; *Feri, si ex re sit Populi Romani;* holding forth his Neck. Septimus Severus in Dispatch; *Adeste, si quid mihi restat agendum.* And the like. Certainly, the Stoicks bestowed too much Cost upon Death, and by their great Preparations, made it appear more fearful. Better saith he, *Qui Finem Vitæ extremum inter Munera ponit Naturæ.* It is as Natural to Die, as to be Born; and to a little Infant, perhaps, the one is as painful as the other. He that dies in an earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot Blood; who, for the time, scarce feels the Hurt: And therefore, a Mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good, doth avert the Dolours of Death. But above all, believe it, the sweetest Canticle is, *Nunc dimittis;* when a Man hath obtained worthy Ends, and Expectations. Death hath this also, that it openeth the Gate to good Fame, and extinguisheth Envy:

—— *Extinctus amabitur idem.*

III. Of Unity in Religion.



RELIGION being the chief Band of human Society, it is a happy thing, when itself is well contained, within the true Band of *Unity*. The Quarrels and Divisions about *Religion*, were Evils unknown to the Heathen. The Reason was, because the *Religion* of the Heathen consisted rather in Rites and Ceremonies, than in any constant Belief. For you may imagine what kind of Faith theirs was, when the chief Doctors and Fathers of their Church were the Poets. But the true God hath this Attribute, that he is a *Jealous God*: And therefore his worship and *Religion* will endure no Mixture, nor Partner. We shall therefore speak a few words concerning the *Unity* of the *Church*: *What are the Fruits thereof; what the Bounds; and what the Means?*

The Fruits of Unity (next unto the well Pleasing of God, which is *all in all*) are two; The One, towards those that are *without the Church*; The Other, towards those *that are within*. For the Former, it is certain, that Heresies and Schisms are, of all others, the greatest Scandals; yea more than Corruption of Manners. For as in the Natural Body, a Wound or Solution of Continuity, is worse

than a corrupt Humour; So in the Spiritual. So that nothing doth so much keep Men out of the Church, and drive Men out of the Church, as Breach of *Unity*. And therefore, whensoever it cometh to that pass, that one faith, *Ecce in Deserto*; Another faith, *Ecce in penetralibus*; That is, when some Men seek Christ in the Conventicles of Heretics, and others in an Outward Face of a Church, that Voice had need continually to sound in Men's Ears, *Nolite exire, Go not out*. The Doctor of the Gentiles (the Propriety of whose Vocation drew him to have a special care of those *without*) faith, *If an Heathen come in, and hear you speak with several Tongues, will he not say that you are mad?* And certainly, it is little better, when Atheists and profane Persons do hear of so many Discordant and Contrary Opinions in *Religion*: It doth avert them from the Church, and maketh them *to sit down in the Chair of the Scorners*. It is but a light thing to be vouched in so Serious a Matter, but yet it expresseth well the Deformity. There is a Master of Scoffing, that in his Catalogue of Books, of a feigned Library, sets down this Title of a Book; *The Morris-dance of Heretics*. For indeed, every Sect of them hath a divers Posture, or cringe by themselves, which cannot but move Derision in Worldlings and depraved Politicians, who are apt to condemn Holy Things.

As for the *Fruit towards those that are within*, it is *Peace*; which containeth infinite Blessings: It

establiſheth Faith ; it kindleth Charity ; the outward Peace of the Church diſtilleth into Peace of Conſcience ; and it turneth the Labours of Writing and Reading of Controverſies, into Treatiſes of Mortification and Devotion.

Concerning the *Bounds of Unity* ; the true Placing of them importeth exceedingly. There appear to be two Extremes. For to certain *Zelots* all ſpeech of Pacification is odious. *Is it peace, Jehu? What haſt thou to do with peace? turn thee behind me.* Peace is not the Matter, but *Following* and *Party*. Contrariwiſe, certain *Laodiceans* and Luke-warm Perſons, think they may accommodate Points of *Religion* by Middle Ways, and taking part of both ; and witty Reconcilements ; as if they would make an Arbitrement between God and Man. Both theſe Extremes are to be avoided ; which will be done, if the League of Chriſtians, penned by our Saviour himſelf, were in the two croſs Clauſes thereof, ſoundly and plainly expounded ; *He that is not with us, is againſt us* : and again ; *He that is not againſt us, is with us*. That is, if the Points Fundamental and of Subſtance in *Religion*, were truly diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed from Points not merely of Faith, but of Opinion, Order, or good Intention. This is a Thing, may ſeem to many, a Matter trivial and done already : But if it were done leſs partially, it would be embraced more generally.

Of this I may give only this Advice, according to my ſmall Model. Men ought to take heed of rend-

ing God's Church, by two kinds of Controversies. The one is, when the Matter of the Point controverted is too small and light, not worth the Heat and Strife about it, kindled only by Contradiction. For, as it is noted by one of the Fathers; *Christs Coat, indeed, had no seam: but the Church's Vesture was of divers colours.* Whereupon he saith, *In veste varietas fit, Scissura non fit.* They be two Things, *Unity* and *Uniformity*. The Other is, when the Matter of the Point controverted is great, but it is driven to an over-great Subtilty, and Obscurity; so that it becometh a Thing rather Ingenious than Substantial. A Man, that is of Judgment and Understanding, shall sometimes hear Ignorant Men differ, and know well within himself, that those which so differ mean one thing, and yet they themselves would never agree. And if it come so to pass, in that distance of Judgment, which is between Man and Man; Shall we not think, that God above, that knows the Heart, doth not discern that frail Men, in some of their Contradictions, intend the same thing; and accepteth of both? The Nature of such Controversies is excellently expressed by *St. Paul*, in the Warning and Precept that he giveth concerning the same; *Devita profanas vocum Novitates, et Oppositiones falsi Nominis Scientiæ.* Men create Oppositions, which are not; and put them into new Terms, so fixed, as whereas the Meaning ought to govern the Term, the Term in effect governeth the Meaning. There be also two false

Peaces, or *Unities* ; The One, when the *Peace* is grounded but upon an implicit ignorance ; for all Colours will agree in the Dark : The Other, when it is pieced up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamental Points. For Truth and Falseness, in such things, are like the *Iron* and *Clay*, in the *Toes of Nebuchadnezzar's Image* ; They may cleave, but they will not incorporate.

Concerning the *Means of procuring Unity* ; Men must beware, that in the Procuring, or Muniting, of *Religious Unity*, they do not dissolve and deface the Laws of Charity, and of human Society. There be two Swords amongst Christians, the Spiritual, and Temporal : And both have their due Office, and Place, in the maintenance of *Religion*. But we may not take up the third Sword, which is Mahomet's Sword, or like unto it ; That is, to propagate *Religion* by Wars, or by sanguinary Persecutions, to force Consciences ; except it be in Cases of overt Scandal, Blasphemy, or Intermixture of Practice, against the State : Much less to nourish Seditions ; to authorize Conspiracies and Rebellions ; to put the Sword into the People's Hands ; and the like ; tending to the Subversion of all Government, which is the Ordinance of God. For this is but to dash the first Table against the Second ; and so to consider Men as Christians, as we forget that they are Men. *Lucretius* the Poet, when he beheld the Act of *Agamemnon*, that could endure the Sacrificing of his own Daughter, exclaimed ;

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum.

What would he have said, if he had known of the Massacre in France, or the Powder Treason of England? He would have been seven times more Epicure and Atheist than he was. For as the temporal Sword is to be drawn, with great circumspection, in Cases of *Religion*; so it is a thing monstrous, to put it into the hands of the Common People. Let that be left unto the Anabaptists, and other Furies. It was great Blasphemy, when the Devil said, *I will ascend, and be like the Highest*; but it is greater Blasphemy to personate God, and bring him in saying; *I will descend, and be like the Prince of Darkness*. And what is it better, to make the cause of *Religion* to descend, to the cruel and execrable Actions of Murdering Princes, Butchery of People, and Subversion of States and Governments? Surely, this is to bring Down the Holy Ghost, instead of the Likeness of a Dove, in the shape of a Vulture, or Raven: And to set, out of the Bark of a Christian Church, a Flag of a Bark of Pirates, and *Assassins*. Therefore it is most necessary, that the Church by Doctrine and Decree; Princes by their Sword; and all Learnings, both Christian and Moral, as by their Mercury Rod; do damn and send to Hell, for ever, those Facts and Opinions, tending to the Support of the same; as hath been already in good part done. Surely in Counsels concerning *Religion*, that Counsel of the Apostle would be prefixed; *Ira Hominis non implet Justiciam Dei*. And it was a notable Obser-

vation, of a wise Father, and no less ingenuously confessed; *That those, which held and persuaded, pressure of Consciences, were commonly interested therein themselves, for their own ends.*

IV. Of Revenge.



REVENGE is a kind of Wild Justice; which the more Man's Nature runs to, the more ought Law to weed it out.

For as for the first Wrong, it doth but offend the Law; but the *Revenge* of that wrong putteth the Law out of Office. Certainly, in taking *Revenge*, a Man is but even with his Enemy; but in passing it over, he is superior: For it is a Prince's Part to pardon. And *Solomon*, I am sure, saith, *It is the Glory of a Man to pass by an Offence.* That which is past, is gone and irrevocable; And wise Men have enough to do with things present and to come. Therefore, they do but trifle with themselves, that labour in past matters. There is no Man doth a wrong, for the wrong's sake; but thereby to purchase himself Profit, or Pleasure, or Honour, or the like. Therefore why should I be angry with a Man, for loving himself better than me? And if any Man should do wrong, merely out of ill nature; why? Yet it is but like the Thorn, or Briar, which prick

and scratch, because they can do no other. The most tolerable Sort of *Revenge*, is for those Wrongs which there is no Law to remedy: But then, let a man take heed, the *Revenge* be such as there is no Law to punish: Else, a Man's Enemy is still beforehand; and it is two for one. Some, when they take *Revenge*, are desirous the Party should know whence it cometh; This is the more generous: For the Delight seemeth to be, not so much in doing the Hurt, as in making the Party repent. But base and crafty Cowards are like the Arrow that flyeth in the Dark. *Cosmus* Duke of *Florence*, had a desperate Saying, against Perfidious or Neglecting Friends, as if those Wrongs were unpardonable: *You shall read* (saith he) *that we are commanded to forgive our Enemies; but you never read, that we are commanded to forgive our Friends.* But yet the Spirit of *Job* was in a better tune; *Shall we* (saith he) *take Good at God's Hands, and not be content to take Evil also?* And so of Friends in a proportion. This is certain, that a Man that studieth *Revenge* keeps his own Wounds green, which otherwise would heal, and do well. Public *Revenge*s are, for the most part, fortunate: as that for the Death of *Cæsar*; for the Death of *Pertinax*; for the Death of *Henry* the Third of France; and many more. But in private *Revenge*s it is not so. Nay rather, Vindictive Persons live the Life of Witches; who as they are mischievous, so end they unfortunate.

v. Of Adversity.



T was a high Speech of *Seneca* (after the manner of the *Stoics*), *That the good Things, which belong to Prosperity, are to be wished; but the good Things, that*

belong to Adversity, are to be admired. Bona Rerum Secundarum optabilia, Adversarum mirabilia. Certainly, if Miracles be the command over Nature, they appear most in Adversity. It is yet a higher Speech of his, than the other, (much too high for a Heathen): *It is true Greatness, to have in one the Frailty of a Man, and the Security of a God. Verè magnum habere Fragilitatem Hominis, Securitatem Dei.* This would have done better in Poesy, where Transcendencies are more allowed. And the Poets, indeed, have been busy with it: For it is, in effect, the thing which is figured in that strange Fiction of the Ancient Poets, which seemeth not to be without Mystery; nay, and to have some approach to the State of a Christian: That *Hercules, when he went to unbind Prometheus, (by whom Human Nature is represented) sailed the length of the great Ocean, in an Earthen Pot, or Pitcher:* lively describing Christian Resolution, that faileth, in the frail Bark of the Flesh, through the Waves of the World. But to speak in a Mean. The Virtue of *Prosperity* is Temperance; the Virtue of *Adversity* is Fortitude; which in Morals is the more Heroical Virtue. *Prosperity* is

the Blessing of the Old Testament; *Adversity* is the Blessing of the New; which carrieth the greater Benediction, and the clearer Revelation of God's Favour. Yet, even in the old Testament, if you listen to *David's* Harp, you shall hear as many hearse-like Airs, as Carols: And the Pencil of the Holy Ghost hath laboured more, in describing the Afflictions of *Job*, than the Felicities of *Solomon*. *Prosperity* is not without many Fears and Distastes; and *Adversity* is not without Comforts and Hopes. We see in Needle-works and Embroideries, it is more pleasing to have a lively Work, upon a Sad and Solemn Ground, than to have a dark and melancholy Work, upon a lightfome Ground: Judge, therefore, of the Pleasure of the Heart, by the Pleasure of the Eye. Certainly, Virtue is like precious Odours, most fragrant when they are incensed, or crushed. For *Prosperity* doth best discover Vice; but *Adversity* doth best discover Virtue.

VI. Of Simulation and Dissimulation.



DISSIMULATION is but a faint kind of Policy, or Wisdom; for it asketh a strong Wit, and a strong Heart, to know when to tell Truth, and to do it: Therefore it is the weaker Sort of Politicians, that

are the great Dissemblers.

Tacitus saith, *Livia sorted well with the Arts of her Husband, and Dissimulation of her Son*: attributing *Arts* or *Policy* to *Augustus*, and *Dissimulation* to *Tiberius*. And again, when *Mucianus* encourageth *Vespasian* to take Arms against *Vitellius*, he saith, *We rise not against the Piercing Judgment of Augustus, nor the Extreme Caution or Closeness of Tiberius*. These Properties of *Arts* or *Policy*, and *Dissimulation* or *Closeness*, are indeed Habits and Faculties several, and to be distinguished. For if a Man have that Penetration of Judgment, as he can discern what Things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be showed at Half-lights, and to whom, and when, (which indeed are Arts of State, and Arts of Life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him a Habit of *Dissimulation* is a Hindrance, and a Poorness. But if a Man cannot obtain to that Judgment, then it is left to him, generally, to be Close, and a *Dissembler*. For where a Man cannot choose, or vary in Particulars, there it is good to take the safest and wariest Way in general; like the Going softly by one that cannot well see. Certainly the ablest Men, that ever were, have had all an Openness, and Frankness of dealing; and a name of Certainty, and Veracity; but then they were like Horses, well managed; for they could tell passing well, when to stop, or turn: And at such times, when they thought the Case indeed required *Dissimulation*, if then they used it, it came to pass, that the former Opinion, spread

abroad of their good Faith, and Clearness of dealing, made them almost invifible.

There be three degrees, of this Hiding, and Vailing of a Man's Self. The firft *Clofenefs*, *Refervation*, and *Secrecy*; when a Man leaveth himfelf without Obfervation, or without Hold to be taken, what he is. The fecond *Diffimulation*, in the *Negative*; when a Man lets fall Signs, and Arguments, that he is not, that he is. And the third *Simulation*, in the Affirmative; when a Man induftrioufly, and exprefsly, feigns, and pretends to be, that he is not.

For the firft of thefe, *Secrecy*: It is indeed, the Virtue of a Confeffor; and affuredly, the *Secret* Man heareth many Confessions; for who will open himfelf to a Blab or a Babblor? But if a Man be thought *Secret*, it inviteth Difcovery; as the more Clofe Air fucketh in the more Open: And as in Confession, the Revealing is not for worldly Ufe, but for the Eafe of a Man's Heart; fo *Secret* Men come to the Knowledge of many Things, in that Kind; while Men rather difcharge their Minds, than impart their Minds. In few words, Myfteries are due to *Secrecy*. Befides (to fay Truth) *Nakednefs* is uncomely, as well in Mind, as Body; and it addeth no fmall Reverence to Men's Manners and Actions, if they be not altogether Open. As for Talkers and Futile Perfons, they are commonly vain, and credulous withal. For he that talketh what he knoweth, will alfo talk what he knoweth not. Therefore fet it down, *That an Habit of Secrecy is both Politic, and Moral*. And in

this Part, it is good, that a Man's Face give his Tongue leave to Speak. For the Discovery of a Man's Self, by the Tracts of his Countenance, is a great Weakness, and Betraying: By how much, it is many times, more marked and believed, than a Man's words.

For the second, which is *Diffimulation*: It followeth many times upon *Secrecy*, by a necessity: So that he that will be *Secret*, must be a *Dissembler*, in some degree. For Men are too cunning, to suffer a Man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be *Secret*, without Swaying the Balance, on either side. They will so beset a Man with Questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that without an absurd Silence, he must show an Inclination, one way: Or if he do not, they will gather as much by his Silence, as by his Speech. As for Equivocations, or Oraculous Speeches, they cannot hold out long. So that no man can be *secret*, except he give himself a little Scope of *Diffimulation*; which is, as it were, but the Skirts or Train of *Secrecy*.

But for the third Degree, which is *Simulation*, and false Profession; That I hold more culpable, and less politic; except it be in great and rare Matters. And therefore a general Custom of *Simulation* (which is this last Degree) is a Vice, rising, either of a natural Falseness, or Fearfulness; Or of a mind, that hath some main Faults: which, because a Man must needs disguise, it maketh him practise *Simulation*, in other things, lest his Hand should be out of use.

The *Advantages* of *Simulation* and *Diffimulation*, are three. First to lay asleep Opposition, and to Surprise. For where a Man's Intentions are published, it is an Alarum, to call up all that are against them. The second is, to reserve to a Man's Self a fair Retreat: For if a man engage himself, by a manifest Declaration, he must go through, or take a Fall. The third is, the better to discover the Mind of another. For to him that opens himself, Men will hardly show themselves adverse; but will (fair) let him go on, and turn their Freedom of Speech to Freedom of Thought. And therefore, it is a good shrewd Proverb of the Spaniard; *Tell a Lie and find a Truth*. As if there were no way of Discovery, but by *Simulation*. There be also three *Disadvantages*, to set it even. The first, That *Simulation* and *Diffimulation*, commonly carry with them, a Show of Fearfulness, which in any Business, doth spoil the Feathers, of round flying up to the Mark. The second, that it puzzleth and perplexeth the Conceits of many, that perhaps would otherwise co-operate with him; and makes a Man walk, almost alone, to his own Ends. The third and greatest is, that it depriveth a Man of one of the most principal Instruments for Action; which is *Trust* and *Belief*. The best Composition, and Temperature is, to have *Openness* in Fame and Opinion; *Secrecy* in Habit; *Diffimulation* in seasonable use; and a Power to feign, if there be no Remedy.

VII. Of Parents and Children.



THE Joys of *Parents* are secret; and so are their Griefs, and Fears: They cannot utter the one; nor they will not utter the other. *Children* sweeten Labours; but they make Misfortunes more bitter: They increase the Cares of Life; but they mitigate the Remembrance of Death. The Perpetuity by Generation is common to Beasts; but Memory, Merit, and noble Works, are proper to Men: And surely a Man shall see the noblest Works, and Foundations, have proceeded from *Childless Men*; which have sought to express the Images of their Minds, where those of their Bodies have failed: So the care of Posterity, is most in them, that have no Posterity. They that are the first Raisers of their Houses, are most indulgent towards their *Children*; beholding them as the Continuance, not only of their kind, but of their Work: And so both *Children*, and *Creatures*.

The difference in Affection, of *Parents*, towards their several *Children*, is many times unequal, and sometimes unworthy; especially in the *Mother*: As Solomon saith; *A wise Son rejoiceth the Father; but an ungracious Son shames the Mother*. A Man shall see, where there is a House full of *Children*, one or two of the Eldest respected, and the Youngest made wantons: But in the midst, some that are, as it were,

forgotten, who many times, nevertheless, prove the best. The Illiberality of *Parents*, in allowance towards their *Children*, is an harmful Error; makes them base; acquaints them with Shifts; makes them sort with mean Company; and makes them surfeit more, when they come to Plenty: And therefore, the Proof is best, when Men keep their Authority towards their *Children*, but not their Purse. Men have a foolish manner (both *Parents*, and Schoolmasters, and Servants) in creating and breeding an Emulation between Brothers, during *Childhood*, which many times forteth to Discord, when they are Men; and disturbeth Families. The *Italians* make little difference between *Children*, and Nephews, or near Kinsfolk; but so they be of the Lump, they care not, though they pass not through their own Body. And, to say Truth, in Nature, it is much a like matter; In so much that we see a Nephew, sometimes, resembleth an Uncle, or a Kinsman, more than his own *Parent*; as the Blood happens. Let *Parents* choose betimes, the Vocations and Courses, they mean their Children should take; for then they are most flexible: And let them not too much apply themselves to the disposition of their *Children*, as thinking they will take best to that, which they have most Mind to. It is true, that if the Affection, or Aptness of the *Children*, be extraordinary, then it is good not to cross it: But generally the Precept is good; *Optimum elige, suave et facile illud faciet Consuetudo*. Younger Brothers are commonly fortunate; but seldom or never, where the *Elder* are disinherited.

VIII. Of Marriage and Single Life.



HE that hath *Wife* and *Children*, hath given Hostages to Fortune; for they are Impediments to great Enterprises, either of Virtue, or Mischief. Certainly, the best Works, and of greatest Merit for the Public, have proceeded from the *unmarried*, or *Childless Men*; which, both in Affection, and Means, have married and endowed the Public. Yet it were great Reason, that those that have *Children*, should have greatest Care of future Times; unto which, they know, they must transmit their dearest Pledges. Some there are, who though they lead a *Single Life*, yet their Thoughts do end with themselves, and account future Times, Impertinences. Nay, there are some other, that account *Wife* and *Children*, but as Bills of Charges. Nay more, there are some foolish rich covetous Men, that take a pride in having no *Children*, because they may be thought so much the richer. For perhaps they have heard some talk; *Such an one is a great rich Man*; And another except to it; *Yea, but he hath a great Charge of Children*: As if it were an Abatement to his Riches. But the most ordinary cause of a *Single Life*, is Liberty; especially, in certain Self-pleasing, and humorous Minds, which are so sensible of every Restraint, as they will go near,

to think their Girdles, and Garters, to be Bonds and Shackles. *Unmarried Men* are best Friends, best Masters, best Servants ; but not always best Subjects : For they are light to run away ; and almost all Fugitives are of that Condition. A *Single Life* doth well with Church-men : For Charity will hardly water the Ground, where it must first fill a Pool. It is indifferent for Judges and Magistrates : For if they be facile, and corrupt, you shall have a Servant, five times worse than a *Wife*. For Soldiers, I find the Generals commonly in their Hortatives, put Men in mind of their *Wives and Children*. And I think the Despising of *Marriage*, amongst the Turks, maketh the vulgar Soldier more base. Certainly, *Wife and Children* are a kind of Discipline of Humanity : And *Single Men*, though they be many times more Charitable, because their Means are less exhaust ; yet, on the other side, they are more cruel, and hardhearted, (good to make severe Inquisitors) ; because their Tendernefs is not so oft called upon. Grave Natures, led by Custom, and therefore constant, are commonly loving *Husbands* : as was said of *Ulysses* ; *Vetulam suam prætulit Immortalitati*. Chaste Women are often proud, and froward, as presuming upon the Merit of their Chastity. It is one of the best Bonds, both of Chastity and Obedience, in the *Wife*, if she think her *Husband* wise ; which she will never do, if she find him *Jealous*. *Wives* are young Men's Mistresses ; Companions for middle Age ; and old Men's Nurses. So as a Man may have a Quarrel to marry, when he

will. But yet, he was reputed one of the wise Men, that made Answer to the Question; When a Man should marry? *A Young Man not yet, an Elder Man not at all.* It is often seen, that bad *Husbands* have very good *Wives*: Whether it be, that it raiseth the Price of their *Husbands'* Kindness, when it comes; or that the *Wives* take a Pride, in their Patience. But this never fails, if the bad *Husbands* were of their own choosing, against their Friends' Consent: For then, they will be sure to make good their own Folly.

IX. Of Envy.



Here be none of the *Affections*, which have been noted to fascinate, or bewitch, but *Love*, and *Envy*. They both have vehement Wishes; they frame them-

selves readily into Imaginations, and Suggestions; and they come easily into the Eye, especially upon the presence of the Objects; which are the Points that conduce to Fascination, if any such Thing there be. We see likewise, the Scripture calleth *Envy*, An *Evil Eye*: And the Astrologers call the evil Influences of the Stars, *Evil Aspects*; so that still, there seemeth to be acknowledged, in the Act of *Envy*, an Ejaculation, or Irradiation of the Eye. Nay, some have been so curious as to note, that the Times, when the Stroke, or Percussion of an *Envious Eye* doth most

hurt, are when the *Party envied* is beheld in Glory, or Triumph; for that sets an Edge upon *Envy*: And besides, at such times, the Spirits of the *Person envied*, do come forth most into the outward Parts, and so meet the Blow.

But leaving these Curiosities, (though not unworthy to be thought on, in fit place,) we will handle, what *Persons are apt to Envy others; what Persons are most subject to be envied themselves; and, what is the Difference between public, and private Envy.*

A Man, that hath no Virtue in himself, ever *envieth* Virtue in others. For Men's Minds will either feed upon their own Good, or upon other's Evil; and who wanteth the one, will prey upon the other: And who so is out of Hope to attain to another's Virtue, will seek to come at even hand, by depressing another's Fortune.

A Man that is Busy, and Inquisitive, is commonly *Envious*: For to know much of other Men's Matters, cannot be; because all that Ado may concern his own Estate: Therefore it must needs be, that he taketh a kind of Play-pleasure in looking upon the Fortunes of others: Neither can he, that mindeth but his own Business, find much matter for *Envy*. For *Envy* is a Gadding Passion, and walketh the Streets, and doth not keep home; *Non est Curiosus, quin idem sit Malevolus.*

Men of Noble Birth, are noted to be *envious* towards New Men, when they rise; for the distance is altered: And it is like a Deceit of the Eye, that

when others come on, they think themselves go back.

Deformed Persons, and Eunuchs, and Old Men, and Bastards, are *Envious*: For he that cannot possibly mend his own case, will do what he can to impair another's: Except these Defects light upon a very brave, and Heroical Nature; which thinketh to make his natural Wants, part of his Honour; in that it should be said, that a Eunuch, or a Lame Man, did such great Matters; affecting the Honour of a Miracle: as it was in *Narjes* the Eunuch, and *Agésilas*, and *Tamerlane*, that were Lame men.

The same is the Case of Men, that rise after Calamities, and Misfortunes; for they are as Men fallen out with the Times; and think other Men's Harms, a Redemption of their own Sufferings.

They, that desire to excel in too many Matters, out of Levity, and Vain-glory, are ever *Envious*; for they cannot want Work; it being impossible, but many, in some one of those Things, should surpass them. Which was the Character of *Adrian* the Emperor, that mortally *envied Poets*, and *Painters*, and *Artificers*, in Works wherein he had a vein to excel.

Lastly, near Kinsfolk, and Fellows in Office, and those that have been bred together, are more apt to *envy* their Equals, when they are raised. For it doth upbraid unto them their own Fortunes, and pointeth at them, and cometh oftener into their Remembrance; and incurreth likewise more into the Note of others:

And *Envy* ever redoubleth from Speech and Fame. *Cain's Envy* was the more vile, and malignant, towards his brother *Abel*; because, when his Sacrifice was better accepted, there was Nobody to look on. Thus much for *those that are apt to envy*.

Concerning *those that are more or less subject to Envy*: First, Persons of eminent Virtue, when they are advanced, are less *envied*. For their Fortune seemeth but due unto them; and no Man *envieth* the Payment of a Debt, but Rewards, and Liberality rather. Again, *Envy* is ever joined with the comparing of a Man's Self: And where there is no Comparison, no *Envy*; and therefore Kings are not *envied*, but by Kings. Nevertheless, it is to be noted, that unworthy Persons are most *envied* at their first coming in, and afterwards overcome it better; whereas contrariwise, Persons of Worth, and Merit, are most *envied*, when their Fortune continueth long. For by that time, though their Virtue be the same, yet it hath not the same *Lustre*; for fresh Men grow up, that darken it.

Persons of Noble Blood are less *envied*, in their rising: for it seemeth, but Right done to their Birth. Besides, there seemeth not so much added to their Fortune; and *Envy* is as the Sun Beams, that beat hotter upon a Bank or steep rising Ground, than upon a Flat. And for the same reason, those that are advanced by degrees, are less *envied*, than those that are advanced suddenly, and *per saltum*.

Those that have joined with their Honour, great

Travels, Cares, or Perils, are less subject to *Envy*. For Men think, that they earn their Honours hardly, and pity them sometimes; and *Pity* ever healeth *Envy*: Wherefore, you shall observe that the more deep, and sober sort of politic Persons, in their Greatness, are ever bemoaning themselves, what a Life they lead; chanting a *Quanta patimur*: Not that they feel it so; but only to abate the Edge of *Envy*. But this is to be understood, of Business, that is laid upon Men, and not such as they call unto themselves. For Nothing increaseth *Envy* more, than an unnecessary, and ambitious Engrossing of Business. And nothing doth extinguish *Envy* more, than for a great Person to preserve all other inferior Officers, in their full Rights, and Pre-eminences, of their Places. For by that means, there be so many Screens between him, and *Envy*.

Above all, those are most subject to *Envy*, which carry the Greatness of their Fortunes, in an insolent and proud Manner: being never well, but while they are showing, how great they are, either by outward Pomp, or by triumphing over all Opposition, or Competition: Whereas wise Men will rather do Sacrifice to *Envy*; in suffering themselves, sometimes of purpose to be crost, and overborne in things, that do not much concern them. Notwithstanding, so much is true; that the Carriage of Greatness, in a plain and open manner (so it be without Arrogancy, and Vain-glory) doth draw less *Envy*, than if it be in a more crafty, and cunning fashion. For in that

course, a Man doth but disavow Fortune; and seemeth to be conscious of his own Want in Worth; and doth but teach others to *Envy* him.

Lastly, to conclude this Part; As we said in the beginning, that the Act of *Envy* had somewhat in it of *Witchcraft*; so there is no other Cure of *Envy*, but the cure of *Witchcraft*: And that is, to remove the *Lot* (as they call it) and to lay it upon another. For which purpose, the wiser Sort of great Persons bring in ever upon the Stage, Somebody upon whom to derive the *Envy*, that would come upon themselves: Sometimes upon Ministers, and Servants; sometimes upon Colleagues and Associates; and the like: And for that turn, there are never wanting some Persons of violent and undertaking Natures; who so they may have Power, and Business, will take it at any Cost.

Now to speak of Public *Envy*: There is yet some good in *Public Envy*; whereas in *Private*, there is none. For *Public Envy* is as an *Ostracism*, that eclipseth Men when they grow too great: And therefore it is a bridle also to Great Ones, to keep them within Bounds.

This *Envy*, being in the Latin word *Invidia*, goeth in the Modern Languages, by the name of *Discontentment*; (of which we shall speak in handling *Sedition*.) It is a Disease in a State, like to Infection. For as Infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it; so when *Envy* is gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best Actions thereof, and turneth them into an ill Odour. And therefore,

there is little won by intermingling of plausible Actions : For that doth argue but a Weakness, and Fear of *Envy* ; which hurteth so much the more, as it is likewise usual in *Infections* ; which, if you fear them, you call them upon you.

This Public *Envy* seemeth to beat chiefly, upon principal Officers, or Ministers, rather than upon Kings, and Estates themselves. But this is a sure Rule, that if the *Envy* upon the Minister be great, when the cause of it in him is small ; or if the *Envy* be general, in a manner, upon all the Ministers of an Estate ; then the *Envy* (though hidden) is truly upon the State itself. And so much of *Public Envy* or *Discontentment*, and the Difference thereof from *Private Envy*, which was handled in the first place.

We will add this, in general, touching the Affection of *Envy* ; that of all other Affections, it is the most importune, and continual. For of other *Affections*, there is occasion given, but now and then : And therefore it was well said ; *Invidia festos dies non agit* ; for it is ever working upon some, or other. And it is also noted, that *Love* and *Envy* do make a Man pine, which other Affections do not ; because they are not so continual. It is also the vilest Affection, and the most depraved : For which Cause, it is the proper Attribute of the Devil ; who is called, *The Envious Man, that soweth Tares amongst the Wheat by night*. As it always cometh to pass, that *Envy* worketh subtilly, and in the dark ; and to the prejudice of good things, such as is the *Wheat*.

x. Of Love.



He Stage is more beholding to *Love*, than the Life of Man. For as to the Stage, *Love* is ever matter of Comedies, and now and then of Tragedies: but in Life, it doth much mischief; sometimes like a *Syren*, sometimes like a *Fury*. You may observe, that amongst all the great and worthy Persons, (whereof the memory remaineth, either Ancient or Recent) there is not One, that hath been transported to the mad degree of *Love*: which shows, that great Spirits and great Business do keep out this weak Passion. You must except, nevertheless, *Marcus Antonius* the half Partner of the Empire of *Rome*; and *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*, and Law-giver: whereof the former was indeed a voluptuous Man, and inordinate; but the latter was an austere, and wise Man: and therefore it seems (though rarely) that *Love* can find entrance, not only into an open Heart, but also into a Heart well fortified, if watch be not well kept. It is a poor saying of *Epicurus*; *Satis magnum Alter Alteri Theatrum sumus*: as if Man, made for the contemplation of Heaven, and all Noble Objects, should do nothing but kneel before a little Idol, and make himself subject, though not of the Mouth (as Beasts are) yet of the Eye, which was given him for higher Purposes. It is a strange Thing,

to note the Excess of this Passion; and how it braves the Nature and Value of Things; by this, that the Speaking in a perpetual *Hyperbole*, is comely in nothing but in *Love*. Neither is it merely in the Phrase; for whereas it hath been well said, that the Arch-flatterer, with whom all the petty Flatterers have Intelligence, is a Man's Self; certainly the *Lover* is more. For there was never proud Man thought so absurdly well of himself, as the *Lover* doth of the Person *loved*: and therefore it was well said; *That it is impossible to love, and to be wise*. Neither doth this Weakness appear to others only, and not to the Party *loved*; but to the *Loved*, most of all: except the *Love* be reciprocal. For, it is a true Rule, that *Love* is ever rewarded, either with the Reciprocal, or with an inward, and secret Contempt. By how much the more, Men ought to beware of this Passion, which loseth not only other things, but itself. As for the other Losses, the Poets Relation doth well figure them: That he that preferred *Helena*, quitted the Gifts of *Juno* and *Pallas*. For whosoever esteemeth too much of Amorous Affection, quitteth both *Riches* and *Wisdom*. This Passion hath his Floods in the very times of Weakness; which are, great *Prosperity* and great *Adversity*; though this latter hath been less observed. Both which times kindle *Love*, and make it more fervent, and therefore shew it to be the Child of Folly. They do best, who, if they cannot but admit *Love*, yet make it keep Quarter: and sever it wholly from their

ferious Affairs, and Actions of life: For if it check once with Business, it troubleth Men's Fortunes; and maketh Men, that they can no ways be true to their own Ends. I know not how, but Martial Men are given to *Love*: I think it is, but as they are given to *Wine*; for *Perils* commonly ask to be paid in *Pleasures*. There is in Man's Nature, a secret Inclination and Motion towards *love* of others; which, if it be not spent upon some one, or a few, doth naturally spread itself towards many; and maketh men become Humane and Charitable; as it is seen sometime in Friars. Nuptial *Love* maketh Mankind; Friendly *Love* perfecteth it; but Wanton *Love* corrupteth, and imbaseth it.

XI. Of Great Place.



MEN in *Great Place* are thrice *Servants*: Servants of the Sovereign or State; Servants of Fame; and Servants of Business. So as they have no Freedom; neither in their Persons, nor in their Actions, nor in their Times. It is a strange desire, to seek Power, and to lose Liberty; or to seek Power over others, and to lose Power over a Man's Self. The Rising unto *Place* is laborious; and by Pains Men come to greater Pains: and it is sometimes base; and by Indignities, Men come to Dignities. The Standing is slippery, and the Regress is either a downfall, or at

least an Eclipse, which is a Melancholy Thing. *Cùm non sis qui fueris, non esse cur velis vivere.* Nay, retire Men cannot, when they would ; neither will they, when it were Reason : But are impatient of privateness, even in Age, and Sickness, which require the shadow : Like old Townsmen, that will be still sitting at their Street door ; though thereby they offer age to scorn. Certainly Great Persons had need to borrow other Men's Opinions, to think themselves happy ; for if they judge by their own Feeling, they cannot find it : But if they think with themselves, what other men think of them, and that other men would fain be as they are, then they are happy, as it were by report ; when perhaps they find the contrary within. For they are the first, that find their own Grievs ; though they be the last, that find their own Faults. Certainly, Men in Great Fortunes are strangers to themselves ; and while they are in the puzzle of business, they have no time to tend their Health, either of Body, or Mind. *Illi Mors gravis incubat Qui notus nimis omnibus Ignotus moritur sibi.* In *Place*, there is License to do Good, and Evil ; whereof the latter is a Curse ; for in Evil, the best condition is, not to Will ; the Second, not to Can. But Power to do good, is the true and lawful End of Aspiring. For good Thoughts (though God accept them,) yet towards men, are little better than good Dreams ; except they be put in Act ; and that cannot be without Power, and Place ; as the Vantage, and Commanding Ground. Merit and good Works,

is the End of Man's Motion ; and Conscience of the same is the Accomplishment of Man's Rest. For if a Man can be Partaker of God's Theatre, he shall likewise be Partaker of God's Rest. *Et conversus Deus, ut aspiceret Opera, quæ fecerunt manus suæ, vidit quòd omnia essent bona nimis:* and then the Sabbath. In the Discharge of thy *Place*, set before thee the best Examples ; for Imitation is a Globe of Precepts. And after a time, set before thee thine own Example ; and examine thyself strictly, whether thou didst not best at first. Neglect not also the Examples of those, that have carried themselves ill, in the same *Place* : not to set off thyself, by taxing their Memory ; but to direct thyself what to avoid. Reform therefore, without Bravery, or Scandal of former Times, and Persons ; but yet set it down to thyself, as well to create good Precedents, as to follow them. Reduce things to the first Institution, and observe wherein, and how, they have degenerated : but yet ask Counsel of both Times ; of the Ancient Time, what is best ; and of the Latter Time, what is fittest. Seek to make thy Course regular ; that Men may know beforehand, what they may expect : But be not too positive, and peremptory ; and express thyself well, when thou digressest from thy Rule. Preserve the Right of thy *Place* ; but stir not questions of Jurisdiction : and rather assume thy Right, in Silence and *de facto*, than voice it with Claims and Challenges. Preserve likewise the Rights of Inferior *Places* ; and think it more Honour to direct in chief, than to be busy in all.

Embrace and invite Helps and Advices, touching the Execution of thy Place ; and do not drive away such as bring thee Information, as Meddlers ; but accept of them in good part. The vices of *Authority* are chiefly four : *Delays*, *Corruption*, *Roughness*, and *Facility*. For *Delays*, give easy Access ; keep Times appointed ; go through with that which is in hand ; and interlace not business, but of necessity. For *Corruption*, do not only bind thine own Hands, or thy Servants' Hands, from taking ; but bind the Hands of Suitors also from offering. For Integrity used doth the one ; but Integrity professed, and with a manifest detestation of Bribery, doth the other. And avoid not only the Fault, but the Suspicion. Whosoever is found variable, and changeth manifestly, without manifest Cause, giveth Suspicion of *Corruption*. Therefore, always, when thou changeest thine Opinion, or Course, profess it plainly, and declare it, together with the Reasons that move thee to change ; and do not think to steal it. A Servant, or a Favourite, if he be inward, and no other apparent Cause of Esteem, is commonly thought but a By-way, to close *Corruption*. For *Roughness*, it is a needless cause of *Discontent* : *Severity* breedeth Fear ; but *Roughness* breedeth Hate. Even Reproofs from Authority ought to be Grave, and not Taunting. As for *Facility*, it is worse than Bribery. For *Bribes* come but now and then ; but if Importunity, or Idle Respects, lead a Man, he shall never be without. As Solomon saith ; *To respect Persons is not good ; For*

ſuch a man will tranſgreſs for a piece of Bread. It is moſt true, that was anciently ſpoken; *A Place ſheweth the Man*: and it ſheweth ſome to the better, and ſome to the worſe: *Omnium conſenſu capax Imperii, niſi imperaſſet*; ſaith *Tacitus* of *Galba*: but of *Veſpaſian* he ſaith; *Solus Imperantium Veſpaſianus mutatus in melius*. Though the one was meant of Sufficiency, the other of Manners and Affection. It is an aſſured Sign of a worthy and generous Spirit, whom *Honour* amends. For *Honour* is, or ſhould be, the Place of Virtue: and as in Nature, Things move violently to their Place, and calmly in their Place: ſo Virtue in Ambition is violent, in Authority ſettled and calm. All Riſing to *Great Place* is by a winding Stair: and if there be Faſtions, it is good to ſide a Man's ſelf, whiſt he is in the Riſing; and to balance Himſelf, when he is placed. Uſe the Memory of thy Predeceſſor fairly, and tenderly; for if thou doſt not, it is a Debt will ſure be paid, when thou art gone. If thou have Colleagues, reſpect them, and rather call them, when they look not for it, than exclude them when they have reaſon to look to be called. Be not too ſenſible, or too remembering, of thy Place, in Converſation, and private Anſwers to Suitors; But let it rather be ſaid; *When he ſits in Place, he is another Man.*

XII. Of Boldness.




T is a trivial Grammar School Text, but yet worthy a wise *Man's* Consideration. Question was asked of *Demosthenes*; *What was the chief Part of an Orator?* He answered, *Action*: What next? *Action*: What next again? *Action*. He said it, that knew it best; and had by nature, himself, no Advantage, in that he commended. A strange thing, that that Part of an Orator, which is but superficial, and rather the virtue of a Player, should be placed so high, above those other Noble Parts, of *Invention*, *Elocution*, and the rest: nay almost alone, as if it were *All in All*. But the Reason is plain. There is in Human Nature, generally, more of the Fool than of the Wise; and therefore those faculties, by which the Foolish part of Men's Minds is taken, are most potent. Wonderful like is the Case of *Boldness*, in Civil Business; What first? *Boldness*: What Second, and Third? *Boldness*. And yet *Boldness* is a Child of Ignorance, and Baseness, far inferior to other Parts. But nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot, those that are either shallow in Judgment, or weak in Courage; which are the greatest Part: Yea and prevaleth with Wise Men, at weak times. Therefore we see it hath done wonders in Popular States; but with Senates and Princes less:

And more ever upon the first entrance of *Bold Persons* into Action, than soon after ; for *Boldness* is an ill keeper of promise. Surely, as there are *Mountebanks* for the Natural Body ; so are there *Mountebanks* for the Politic Body : Men that undertake great Cures ; and perhaps have been lucky in two or three Experiments, but want the Grounds of Science ; and therefore cannot hold out. Nay, you shall see a *Bold Fellow* many times do *Mahomet's* Miracle. *Mahomet* made the People believe, that he would call a Hill to him ; and from the Top of it, offer up his Prayers, for the Observers of his Law. The People assembled ; *Mahomet* called the Hill to come to him, again and again : And when the Hill stood still, he was never a whit abashed, but said ; *If the Hill will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet will go to the Hill.* So these Men, when they have promised great Matters, and failed most shamefully, (yet if they have the perfection of *Boldness*) they will but slight it over, and make a turn, and no more ado. Certainly, to Men of great Judgment, *Bold Persons* are a Sport to behold ; nay, and to the Vulgar also, *Boldness* hath somewhat of the ridiculous. For if Absurdity be the Subject of Laughter, doubt you not, but great *Boldness* is seldom without some Absurdity. Especially it is a Sport to see, when a *Bold Fellow* is out of Countenance ; for that puts his Face into a most shrunken and wooden Posture ; as needs it must ; for in Bashfulness, the Spirits do a little go and come ; but with *Bold Men*, upon like occasion, they stand at a stay ; like a Stale at

Ches, where it is no Mate, but yet the Game cannot stir. But this last were fitter for a Satire, than for a serious Observation. This is well to be weighed, that *Boldness* is ever blind: For it seeth not Dangers and Inconveniences. Therefore it is ill in Counsel, good in Execution. So that the right Use of *Bold* Persons is, that they never command in Chief, but be Seconds, and under the Direction of others. For in Counsel, it is good to see dangers; and in Execution not to see them, except they be very great.

XIII. Of Goodness, and Goodness of Nature.

 TAKE *Goodness* in this Sense, the affecting of the Weal of Men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*: And the word *Humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. *Goodness* I call the Habit, and *Goodness of Nature* the Inclination. This of all Virtues, and Dignities of the Mind, is the greatest; being the Character of the Deity: and without it, Man is a Busy, Mischievous, Wretched Thing; no better than a Kind of Vermin. *Goodness* answers to the *Theological Virtue Charity*, and admits no Excess, but Error. The desire of Power in Excess, caused the Angels to fall; the desire of Knowledge in Excess, caused Man to fall: But in

Charity there is no Excess; neither can Angel, or Man, come in danger by it. The Inclination to *Goodness* is imprinted deeply in the Nature of Man: infomuch, that if it issue not towards Men, it will take unto Other Living Creatures; as it is seen in the Turks, a cruel People, who nevertheless are kind to Beasts, and give Alms to Dogs and Birds: Infomuch, as *Busbeckius* reporteth; A Christian Boy in *Constantinople* had like to have been stoned, for gagging, in a waggishness, a long-billed Fowl. Errors, indeed, in this virtue of *Goodness*, or *Charity*, may be committed. The *Italians* have an ungracious Proverb; *Tanto buon che val niente: So good, that he is good for nothing.* And one of the Doctors of *Italy*, *Nicholas Machiavel*, had the confidence to put in writing, almost in plain terms: *That the Christian Faith had given up Good Men, in prey, to those, that are Tyrannical, and Unjust.* Which he spake, because indeed there was never Law, or Sect, or Opinion, did so much magnify *Goodness*, as the Christian Religion doth. Therefore, to avoid the Scandal and the Danger both, it is good to take knowledge of the Errors of a Habit so excellent. Seek the Good of other Men; but be not in bondage to their Faces or Fancies: for that is but Facility, or Softness; which taketh an honest Mind Prisoner. Neither give thou *Æsop's* Cock a Gem, who would be better pleased, and happier, if he had had a Barley-corn. The Example of God teacheth the Lesson truly: *He sendeth his Rain, and maketh*

*his Sun to shine, upon the Just, and Unjust ; but he doth not rain Wealth, nor shine Honour, and Virtues, upon Men equally. Common Benefits are to be communicate with all ; but peculiar Benefits, with choice. And beware how in making the Portraiture, thou breakest the Pattern : for Divinity maketh the Love of our Selves the Pattern ; the Love of our Neighbours but the Portraiture. Sell all thou hast, and give it to the poor, and follow me : But sell not all thou hast, except thou come, and follow me ; that is, except thou have a Vocation, wherein thou mayest do as much good, with little means, as with great : For otherwise, in feeding the Streams, thou driest the Fountain. Neither is there only a Habit of Goodness, directed by right Reason ; but there is, in some Men, even in Nature, a Disposition towards it : as on the other side, there is a Natural Malignity. For there be, that in their Nature, do not affect the Good of Others. The lighter Sort of Malignity turneth but to a Crossness, or Frowardness, or Aptness to oppose, or Difficulness, or the like ; but the deeper Sort, to Envy, and mere Mischief. Such Men, in other men's Calamities, are as it were in season, and are ever on the loading Part ; not so good as the Dogs that licked *Lazarus*' Sores ; but like Flies, that are still buzzing upon any Thing that is raw : *Misanthropi*, that make it their Practice to bring Men to the Bough ; and yet have never a Tree, for the purpose, in their Gardens, as *Timon* had. Such Dispositions are the very Errors of Human Nature : and*

yet they are the fittest Timber to make great Politics of: Like to knee Timber, that is good for Ships, that are ordained to be tossed; but not for building Houses, that shall stand firm. The Parts and Signs of *Goodness* are many: If a Man be gracious and courteous to Strangers, it shews he is a Citizen of the World; and that his Heart is no Island, cut off from other Lands; but a Continent that joins to them. If he be compassionate towards the Afflictions of others, it shews that his Heart is like the noble Tree, that is wounded itself, when it gives the Balm. If he easily pardons and remits Offences, it shews that his Mind is planted above Injuries; so that he cannot be shot. If he be thankful for small Benefits, it shews that he weighs Men's Minds, and not their Trash. But above all, if he have *St. Paul's* Perfection, that he would wish to be an *Anathema* from *Christ*, for the Salvation of his Brethren, it shews much of a Divine Nature, and a kind of Conformity with *Christ* himself.

XIV. Of Nobility.



WE will speak of *Nobility* first as a *Portion* of an *Estate*; then as a *Condition* of *Particular Persons*. A *Monarchy*, where there is no *Nobility* at all, is ever a pure and absolute *Tyranny*; as that of the *Turks*. For *Nobility* attempts *Sovereignty*, and

draws the Eyes of the People somewhat aside from the *Line Royal*. But for *Democracies*, they need it not; and they are commonly more quiet, and less subject to Sedition, than where there are Stirps of *Nobles*. For Men's Eyes are upon the Business, and not upon the Persons: or if upon the Persons, it is for the Business' sake, as fittest, and not for Flags and Pedigree. We see the *Switzers* last well, notwithstanding their Diversity of Religion and of Cantons. For Utility is their Bond, and not Respects. The United Provinces of the Low Countries, in their Government, excel: for where there is an Equality, the Consultations are more indifferent, and the Payments and Tributes more cheerful. A great and Potent *Nobility* addeth Majesty to a Monarch; but diminisheth Power: and putteth Life and Spirit into the People; but presseth their Fortune. It is well, when *Nobles* are not too great for Sovereignty, nor for Justice; and yet maintained in that height, as the Insolency of Inferiors may be broken upon them, before it come on too fast upon the Majesty of Kings. A Numerous *Nobility* causeth Poverty and Inconvenience in a State: For it is a Surcharge of Expense; and besides, it being of Necessity, that many of the Nobility fall in time to be weak in Fortune, it maketh a kind of Disproportion between Honour and Means.

As for *Nobility* in *particular Persons*; it is a Reverend Thing, to see an Ancient Castle or Building not in decay; or to see a fair Timber Tree sound

and perfect : How much more, to behold an Ancient *Noble Family*, which hath stood against the Waves and Weathers of Time. For new *Nobility* is but the Act of Power ; but Ancient *Nobility* is the Act of Time. Those that are first raised to *Nobility* are commonly more Virtuous, but less Innocent, than their Descendants : for there is rarely any Rising, but by a Commixture of good and evil Arts. But it is Reason, the Memory of their virtues remain to their Posterity ; and their Faults die with themselves. *Nobility of Birth* commonly abateth Industry : and he that is not industrious envieth him that is. Besides, *Noble persons* cannot go much higher ; and he that standeth at a stay when others rise, can hardly avoid Motions of Envy. On the other side, *Nobility* extinguisheth the passive Envy, from others towards them ; because they are in Possession of Honour. Certainly Kings, that have Able Men of their *Nobility*, shall find ease in employing them ; and a better Slide into their Business : for People naturally bend to them, as born in some sort to Command.

xv. Of Seditions and Troubles.



HEPHERDS of *People* had need know the *Calendars of Tempests in State* ; which are commonly greatest, when Things grow to Equality ; as Natural Tempests are greatest about the *Æquinoctia*. And

as there are certain hollow Blaſts of Wind, and ſecret Swellings of Seas, before a Tempeſt; ſo are there in States :

——*Ille etiam cæcos inſtare Tumultus
Sæpe monet, Fraudeſque, et operta tumefcere Bella.*

Libels and licentious Diſcourſes againſt the State, when they are frequent and open; and in like ſort, falſe News, often running up and down, to the Diſadvantage of the State, and haſtily embraced; are amongſt the Signs of *Troubles*. *Virgil*, giving the Pedigree of *Fame*, ſaith, *She was ſiſter to the Giants*:

*Illam Terra Parens, irâ irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut perhibent) Cæo Enceladoque ſororem
Progenuit.*——

As if *Fames* were the Relics of *Seditions* paſt; but they are no leſs, indeed, the preludes of *Seditions* to come. Howſoever, he noteth it right, that *Seditious Tumults*, and *Seditious Fames*, differ no more, but as Brother and Siſter, Maſculine and Feminine; eſpecially, if it come to that, that the beſt Actions of a State, and the moſt plauſible, and which ought to give greateſt Contentment, are taken in ill Senſe, and traduced: for that ſhews the Envy great, as *Tacitus* ſaith; *Conflatâ magnâ Invidiâ, ſeu benè, ſeu malè, geſta premunt*. Neither doth it follow, that becauſe theſe *Fames* are a Sign of *Troubles*, that the ſuppreſſing of them, with too much Severity, ſhould be a Remedy of *Troubles*. For the deſpiſing of them,

many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them, doth but make a Wonder long-lived. Also that kind of Obedience, which *Tacitus* speaketh of, is to be held suspected; *Erant in officio, sed tamen qui mallent Imperantium mandata interpretari, quàm exequi*: disputing, excusing, caviling upon Mandates and Directions, is a kind of shaking off the Yoke, and assay of Disobedience: Especially, if in those Disputings, they, which are for the direction, speak fearfully and tenderly; and those that are against it, audaciouſly.

Also, as *Machiavel* noteth well, when Princes, that ought to be Common Parents, make themselves as a Party, and lean to a Side, it is as a Boat that is overthrown, by uneven weight on the one Side; as was well ſeen, in the time of *Henry* the third of *France*: For firſt, himſelf entered League for the Extirpation of the *Proteſtants*; and preſently after, the ſame League was turned upon Himſelf. For when the Authority of Princes is made but an Acceſſary to a Cauſe; and that there be other Bands, that tie faſter than the Band of Sovereignty, Kings begin to be put almoſt out of Poſſeſſion.

Also when Diſcords, and Quarrels, and Faſtions are Carried openly and audaciouſly; it is a Sign, the Reverence of Government is loſt. For the Motions of the greateſt perſons, in a Government, ought to be as the Motions of the Planets, under *Primum Mobile*; (according to the old Opinion: which is, that Every of them is carried ſwiftly by the Hiſheſt Mo-

tion, and softly in their own Motion. And therefore, when great Ones, in their own particular Motion, move violently, and, as *Tacitus* expresseth it well, *Liberiùs, quàm ut Imperantium meminissent*; it is a Sign the Orbs are out of Frame. For Reverence is that wherewith Princes are girt from God; who threateneth the dissolving thereof; *Solvam cingula Regum*.

So when any of the four Pillars of Government are mainly shaken, or weakened (which are *Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure*), Men had need to pray for Fair Weather. But let us pass from this Part of Predictions, (concerning which, nevertheless, more light may be taken, from that which followeth); and let us speak first of the *Materials* of *Seditions*; then of the *Motives* of them; and thirdly of the *Remedies*.

Concerning the *Materials* of *Seditions*, it is a Thing well to be considered: For the surest way to prevent *Seditions*, (if the Times do bear it), is to take away the *Matter* of them. For if there be Fuel prepared, it is hard to tell, whence the Spark shall come, that shall set it on Fire. The *Matter* of *Seditions* is of two kinds; *Much Poverty*, and *Much Discontentment*. It is certain, so many *Overthrown Estates*, so many *Votes for Troubles*. *Lucan* noteth well the *State of Rome*, before the Civil War;

*Hinc Usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore Fœnus,
Hinc concussa Fides, & multis utile Bellum.*

This same *Multis utile Bellum* is an assured and infallible Sign, of a State disposed to *Seditions* and *Troubles*. And if this *Poverty* and Broken Estate, in the better Sort, be joined with a Want and Necessity in the mean People, the danger is imminent and great. For the *Rebellions* of the Belly are the worst. As for *Discontentments*, they are in the Politic Body, like to Humours in the Natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural Heat, and to enflame. And let no Prince measure the Danger of them by this; whether they be Just or Unjust? For that were to imagine People to be too reasonable; who do often spurn at their own Good: Nor yet by this; whether the Grievs, whereupon they rise, be in fact great or small: For they are the most dangerous *Discontentments*, where the Fear is greater than the Feeling. *Dolendi Modus, Timendi non item*. Besides, in great Oppressions, the same Things that provoke the Patience, do withal mate the Courage: but in Fears it is not so. Neither let any Prince, or State, be secure concerning *Discontentments*, because they have been often, or have been long, and yet no Peril hath ensued; for as it is true, that every Vapour, or Fume, doth not turn into a Storm; so it is, nevertheless, true, that Storms, though they blow over divers times, yet may fall at last: and as the Spanish Proverb noteth well; *The cord breaketh at the last by the weakest pull*.

The *Causes* and *Motives* of *Seditions* are; *Innovation in Religion*; *Taxes*; *Alteration of Laws* and

Customs ; Breaking of Privileges ; General Oppression ; Advancement of unworthy Persons ; Strangers ; Dearths ; Disbanded Soldiers ; Factions grown desperate ; and whatsoever in offending People, joineth and knitteth them, in a Common Cause.

For the *Remedies* ; There may be some general Preservatives, whereof we will speak ; as for the just Cure, it must answer to the Particular Disease : and so be left to Counsel rather than Rule.

The first *Remedy*, or Prevention, is to remove by all means possible, that *material Cause* of *Sedition*, whereof we spake ; which is *Want* and *Poverty* in the *Estate*. To which purpose serveth the Opening, and well Balancing of Trade ; the Cherishing of Manufactures ; the Banishing of Idleness ; the Repressing of Waste and Excess by Sumptuary Laws ; the Improvement and Husbanding of the Soil ; the Regulating of Prices of things vendible ; the Moderating of Taxes and Tributes ; and the like. Generally, it is to be foreseen, that the Population of a Kingdom, (especially if it be not mown down by wars) do not exceed the Stock of the Kingdom, which should maintain them. Neither is the Population to be reckoned only by number : for a smaller Number, that spend more, and earn less, do wear out an Estate, sooner than a greater Number, that live lower, and gather more. Therefore the Multiplying of Nobility, and other Degrees of Quality, in an over Proportion, to the Common People, doth speedily bring a State to Necessity : and so doth likewise an

overgrown Clergy; for they bring nothing to the Stock; and in like manner, when more are bred Scholars than Preferments can take off.

It is likewise to be remembered, that for as much as the increase of any Estate, must be upon the Foreigner, (for whatsoever is somewhere gotten, is somewhere lost); there be but three Things which one Nation selleth unto another; The *Commodity* as Nature yieldeth it; the *Manufacture*; and the *Vecture* or *Carriage*. So that if these three wheels go, Wealth will flow as in a Spring-tide. And it cometh many times to pass, that *Materiam superabit Opus*; that the Work, and Carriage, is more worth than the Material, and enricheth a State more: as is notably seen in the *Low-Country-men*, who have the best Mines, above ground, in the World.

Above all things, good Policy is to be used, that the Treasure and Monies, in a State be not gathered into few Hands: for, otherwise, a State may have a great Stock, and yet starve. And Money is like Muck, not good except it be spread. This is done, chiefly, by suppressing, or at the least, keeping a strait Hand upon the Devouring Trades of *Usury*, *Ingrossing* great *Pasturages*, and the like.

For Removing *Discontentments*, or at least, the danger of them; there is in every State (as we know) two Portions of *Subjects*; the *Nobles*, and the *Commonalty*. When one of these is *Discontent*, the danger is not great; for Common People are of flow Motion, if they be not excited by the Greater Sort;

and the Greater Sort are of small strength, except the Multitude be apt and ready to move of themselves. Then is the danger, when the Greater Sort do but wait for the Troubling of the Waters, amongst the Meaner, that then they may declare themselves. The Poet's feign, that the rest of the Gods, would have bound *Jupiter*; which he hearing of, by the Counsel of *Pallas*, sent for *Briareus*, with his hundred Hands, to come in to his Aid. An Emblem, no doubt, to shew, how safe it is for Monarchs to make sure of the good Will of Common People.

To give moderate Liberty, for Grievs and *Discontentments* to evaporate (so it be without too great Insolency or Bravery), is a safe Way. For he that turneth the Humours back, and maketh the Wound bleed inwards, endangereth malign Ulcers, and pernicious Imposthumations.

The Part of *Epimetheus* might well become *Prometheus*, in the case of *Discontentments*; for there is not a better provision against them. *Epimetheus*, when Grievs and Evils flew abroad, at last shut the lid, and kept Hope in the Bottom of the Vessel. Certainly, the politic and artificial Nourishing, and Entertaining of *Hopes*, and Carrying Men from *Hopes* to *Hopes*, is one of the best Antidotes, against the Poison of *Discontentments*. And it is a certain Sign, of a wise Government, and Proceeding, when it can hold Men's hearts by *Hopes*, when it cannot by Satisfaction: and when it can handle things, in such manner, as no Evil shall appear so peremptory, but

that it hath some Outlet of *Hope*: which is the leſs hard to do, becauſe both particular Perſons, and Faſtions, are apt enough to flatter themſelves, or at leaſt to brave, that which they believe not.

Alſo, the Foreſight, and Prevention, that there be no likely or fit Head, whereunto *Discontented Perſons* may reſort, and under whom they may join, is a known, but an excellent Point of Caution. I underſtand a fit Head, to be one that hath Greatneſs and Reputation; that hath Confidence with the *Discontented Party*; and upon whom they turn their Eyes; and that is thought *discontented* in his own particular; which kind of Perſons are either to be won, and reconciled to the State, and that in a faſt and true manner; or to be fronted with ſome other of the ſame Party, that may oppoſe them, and ſo divide the reputation. Generally, the Dividing and Breaking of all Faſtions and Combinations, that are adverſe to the State, and ſetting them at diſtance, or at leaſt diſtruſt amongſt themſelves, is not one of the worſt *Remedies*. For it is a deſperate Caſe, if thoſe, that hold with the Proceeding of the State, be full of Diſcord and Faſtion; and thoſe that are againſt it, be entire and united.

I have noted, that ſome witty and ſharp Speeches, which have fallen from *Princes*, have given fire to *Seditions*. *Cæſar* did himſelf infinite Hurt, in that Speech; *Sylla nescivit Literas, non potuit dictare*: for it did utterly cut off that *Hope*, which Men had entertained, that he would, at one time or other,

give over his Dictatorship. *Galba* undid himself by that Speech; *Legi à se Militem, non emi*: for it put the Soldiers out of Hope of the Donative. *Probus* likewise, by that Speech; *Si vixero, non opus erit amplius Romano Imperio militibus*. A Speech of great Despair for the Soldiers: and many the like. Surely, *Princes* had need, in tender Matters, and Ticklish Times, to beware what they say; especially in these short Speeches, which fly abroad like Darts, and are thought to be shot out of their secret Intentions. For as for large Discourses, they are flat Things, and not so much noted.

Lastly, let Princes, against all Events, not be without some Great Person, one or rather more, of Military Valour near unto them, for the Repressing of *Seditions*, in their beginnings. For without that, there useth to be more trepidation in Court, upon the first Breaking out of *Troubles*, than were fit. And the *State* runneth the danger of that, which *Tacitus* saith; *Atque is habitus Animorum fuit, ut pessimum facinus auderent Pauci, Plures vellent, Omnes paterentur*. But let such Military Persons be Assured, and well reputed of, rather than factious, and popular; holding also good Correspondence with the other Great Men in the *State*; Or else the Remedy is worse than the Disease.

XVI. Of Atheism.



HAD rather believe all the Fables in the *Legend*, and the *Talmud*, and the *Alcoran*, than that this universal Frame is without a Mind. And therefore, God never wrought Miracle, to convince *Atheism*, because his Ordinary Works convince it. It is true, that a little Philosophy inclineth Man's Mind to *Atheism*; but depth in Philosophy bringeth Men's Minds about to *Religion*: for while the Mind of Man, looketh upon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them, and go no further: but when it beholdeth the Chain of them, confederate and linked together, it must needs fly to *Providence* and *Deity*. Nay, even that School, which is most accused of *Atheism*, doth most demonstrate *Religion*; that is, the *School* of *Leucippus*, and *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. For it is a thousand times more credible, that four Mutable Elements, and one Immutable Fifth Essence, duly and Eternally placed, need no God; than that an Army, of Infinite small Portions, or Seeds unplaced, should have produced this Order, and Beauty, without a Divine Marshal. The Scripture saith; *The Fool hath said in his Heart, there is no God*: It is not said; *The Fool hath thought in his Heart*: so as, he rather saith it by rote to himself, as that he would have, than that he

can thoroughly believe it, or be persuaded of it. For none deny there is a *God*, but those, for whom it maketh that there were no *God*. It appeareth in nothing more, that *Atheism* is rather in the *Lip*, than in the *Heart* of Man, than by this ; that *Atheists* will ever be talking of that their Opinion, as if they fainted in it, within themselves, and would be glad to be strengthened, by the Consent of others : nay more, you shall have *Atheists* strive to get *Disciples*, as it fareth with other Sects : and, which is most of all, you shall have of them, that will suffer for *Atheism*, and not recant ; whereas, if they did truly think, that there were no such Thing as *God*, why should they trouble themselves ? *Epicurus* is charged, that he did but dissemble, for his credit's sake, when he affirmed ; There were *Blessed Natures*, but such as enjoyed themselves, without having respect to the Government of the World. Wherein, they say, he did temporize ; though, in secret, he thought there was no *God*. But certainly, he is traduced ; for his Words are Noble and Divine : *Non Deos vulgi negare profanum ; sed vulgi Opiniones Diis applicare profanum*. *Plato* could have said no more. And although he had the Confidence to deny the *Administration*, he had not the Power to deny the *Nature*. The *Indians* of the *West* have Names for their particular *Gods*, though they have no name for *God* : as if the *Heathens* should have had the Names *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, &c. but not the Word *Deus* : which shews, that even those barbarous People have

the Notion, though they have not the Latitude, and Extent of it. So that against *Atheists*, the very Savages take part with the very subtlest Philosophers. The Contemplative *Atheist* is rare; a *Diagoras*, a *Bion*, a *Lucian* perhaps, and some others; and yet they seem to be more than they are; for that all that Impugn a received *Religion*, or *Superstition*, are, by the adverse Part, branded with the Name of *Atheists*: but the great *Atheists*, indeed, are *Hypocrites*; which are ever handling Holy Things, but without Feeling. So as they must needs be cauterized in the End. The *Causes* of *Atheism* are; *Divisions* in *Religion*, if they be many; for any one main Division addeth Zeal to both Sides; but many Divisions introduce *Atheism*. Another is, *Scandal* of *Priests*; when it is come to that, which St. *Bernard* saith; *Non est jam dicere, ut Populus, sic Sacerdos: quia nec sic Populus, ut Sacerdos*. A third is, Custom of *Profane Scoffing* in *Holy Matters*; which doth, by little and little, deface the Reverence of Religion. And lastly, *Learned Times*, specially with Peace and Prosperity: for Troubles and Adversities do more bow Men's Minds to *Religion*. They that deny a *God*, destroy Man's Nobility: for certainly Man is of Kin to the Beasts, by his Body; and if he be not of Kin to *God* by his Spirit, he is a base and ignoble Creature. It destroys likewise Magnanimity, and the raising of Human Nature: for take an Example of a Dog, and mark what a Generosity, and Courage he will put on, when he finds himself

maintained by a Man; who to him is in stead of a *God*, or *Melior Natura*: which courage is manifestly such, as that Creature, without that Confidence, of a better Nature than his own, could never attain. So Man, when he resteth and assureth himself, upon divine Protection and Favour, gathereth a Force and Faith, which Human Nature, in itself, could not obtain. Therefore, as *Atheism* is in all respects hateful, so in this, that it depriveth human Nature of the Means to exalt itself, above Human Frailty. As it is in particular Persons, so it is in Nations: never was there such a *State*, for Magnanimity, as *Rome*. Of this *State* hear what *Cicero* saith; *Quam volumus, licet, Patres Conscripti, nos amemus, tamen nec Numero Hispanos, nec Robore Gallos, nec Calliditate Pænos, nec artibus Græcos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis & Terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos; sed Pietate, ac Religione, atque hac unâ Sapientiâ, quod Deorum Immortalium Numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes Gentes, Nationesque superavimus.*

XVII. Of Superstition.



T were better to have no Opinion of *God* at all, than such an Opinion as is unworthy of him: for the one is Unbelief, the other is Contumely. And certainly *Superstition* is the Reproach of the *Deity*.

Plutarch saith well to that purpose: Surely, saith he, *I had rather, a great deal, Men should say, there was no such Man at all as Plutarch; than that they should say, that there was one Plutarch, that would eat his Children, as soon as they were born, as the Poets speak of Saturn.* And as the Contumely is greater towards God, so the Danger is greater towards Men. *Atheism* leaves a Man to Sense; to Philosophy; to Natural Piety; to Laws; to Reputation; all which may be Guides to an outward Moral Virtue, though *Religion* were not; but *Superstition* dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute Monarchy in the Minds of Men. Therefore *Atheism* did never perturb *States*; for it makes Men wary of themselves, as looking no further: and we see the times inclined to *Atheism* (as the Time of *Augustus Cæsar*) were civil Times. But *Superstition*, hath been the Confusion of many States; and bringeth in a new *Primum Mobile*, that ravisheth all the Spheres of Government. The Master of *Superstition* is the People; and in all *Superstition*, Wise Men follow Fools; and Arguments are fitted to practice, in a reversed Order. It was gravely said, by some of the Prelates, in the *Council of Trent*, where the doctrine of the Schoolmen bare great sway; *That the Schoolmen were like Astronomers, which did feign Eccentrics and Epicycles, and such Engines of Orbs, to save the Phenomena; though they knew, there were no such Things:* and, in like manner, that the Schoolmen had framed a Number of subtle and in-

tricate *Axioms*, and *Theorems*, to save the practice of the Church. The *Causes* of *Superstition* are: Pleasing and sensual Rites and Ceremonies: Excess of Outward and Pharisaical Holiness; Over-great Reverence of Traditions, which cannot but load the Church; the Stratagems of Prelates for their own Ambition and Lucre: the Favouring too much of good Intentions, which openeth the Gate to Conceits and Novelties; the taking an Aim at divine Matters by Human, which cannot but breed mixture of Imaginations; and lastly, Barbarous Times, especially joined with Calamities and Disasters. *Superstition*, without a veil, is a deformed Thing; for, as it addeth deformity to an Ape, to be so like a Man; so the Similitude of *Superstition* to *Religion*, makes it the more deformed. And as wholesome Meat corrupteth to little Worms; so good Forms and Orders corrupt into a Number of petty Observances. There is a *Superstition*, in avoiding *Superstition*; when men think to do best, if they go furthest from the *Superstition* formerly received: therefore, Care would be had, that (as it saith in ill Purgings) the Good be not taken away with the Bad; which commonly is done, when the People is the Reformer.

XVIII. Of Travel.



TRAVEL, in the younger Sort, is a Part of Education; in the Elder, a Part of Experience. He that *travelleth* into a Country, before he hath some Entrance into the Language, goeth to *School*, and not to *Travel*. That Young Men travel under some Tutor, or grave Servant, I allow well; so that he be such a one that hath the Language, and hath been in the Country before; whereby he may be able to tell them, what Things are worthy to be seen in the Country where they go; what Acquaintances they are to seek; what Exercises or discipline the Place yieldeth. For else young Men shall go hooded, and look abroad little. It is a strange Thing, that in Sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen, but Sky and Sea, Men should make Diaries; but in *Land-Travel*, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it; as if Chance were fitter to be registered than Observation. Let Diaries, therefore, be brought in use. The Things to be seen and observed are: The Courts of Princes, specially when they give Audience to Ambassadors: the Courts of Justice, while they sit and hear Causes; and so of Consistories Ecclesiastic: the Churches, and Monasteries, with the Monuments which are therein extant: the Walls and Fortifications of Cities and

Towns; and so the Havens and Harbours: Antiquities, and Ruins: Libraries; Colleges, Disputations, and Lectures, where any are: Shipping and Navies: Houses, and Gardens of State, and Pleasure, near great Cities: Armories: Arsenals: Magazines: Exchanges: Burfes; Warehouses: Exercises of Horfemanship; Fencing; Training of Soldiers; and the like: Comedies; such whereunto the better Sort of persons do resort; Treasuries of Jewels, and Robes; Cabinets, and Rarities: and to conclude, whatsoever is memorable in the Places, where they go. After all which, the Tutors, or Servants, ought to make diligent Enquiry. As for Triumphs; Masques; Feasts; Weddings; Funerals; Capital Executions; and such Shows; Men need not to be put in mind of them; yet are they not to be neglected. If you will have a Young Man to put his *Travel* into a little Room, and in short time to gather much, this you must do: First, as was said, he must have some Entrance into the Language, before he goeth: then he must have such a Servant, or Tutor, as knoweth the Country, as was likewise said. Let him carry with him also some Card or Book describing the Country, where he travelleth; which will be a good Key to his Enquiry. Let him keep also a Diary. Let him not stay long in one City, or Town; more or less as the place deserveth, but not long: nay, when he stayeth in one City or Town, let him change his Lodging, from one End and Part of the Town to another; which is a great Adamant of Acquain-

tance. Let him sequester himself from the Company of his Countrymen, and diet in such Places, where there is good Company of the Nation, where he travelleth. Let him upon his Removes, from one place to another, procure Recommendation, to some person of Quality, residing in the Place, whither he removeth; that he may use his Favour, in those things, he desireth to see or know. Thus he may abridge his *Travel*, with much profit. As for the acquaintance, which is to be sought in *Travel*; that which is most of all profitable is Acquaintance with the Secretaries, and Employed Men of Ambassadors; for so in *Travelling* in one Country he shall suck the Experience of many. Let him also see and visit Eminent Persons, in all Kinds, which are of great Name abroad; that he may be able to tell, how the Life agreeth with the Fame. For Quarrels, they are with Care and Discretion to be avoided: they are, commonly, for Mistresses; Healths; Place; and Words. And let a Man beware, how he keepeth Company with Cholerick and Quarrelsome Persons; for they will engage him into their own Quarrels. When a *Traveller* returneth home, let him not leave the Countries, where he hath *Travelled*, altogether behind him; but maintain a Correspondence, by letters, with those of his Acquaintance, which are of most Worth. And let his *Travel* appear rather in his Discourse, than in his Apparel, or Gesture: and in his Discourse, let him be rather advised in his Answers, than forward to tell Stories:

and let it appear, that he doth not change his Country Manners for those of Foreign Parts; but only prick in some Flowers, of that he hath learned abroad, into the Customs of his own Country.

XIX. Of Empire.



IT is a miserable State of Mind, to have few Things to desire, and many Things to fear: and yet that commonly is the Case of *Kings*: Who being at the highest, want Matter of desire, which makes their Minds more languishing; and have many Representations of Perils and Shadows, which makes their Minds the less clear. And this is one Reason also of that Effect, which the Scripture speaketh of; *That the King's Heart is inscrutable*. For Multitude of Jealousies, and Lack of some predominant Desire, that should marshal and put in order all the rest, maketh any Man's Heart, hard to find, or sound. Hence it comes likewise, that *Princes*, many times, make themselves Desires, and set their Hearts upon Toys: sometimes upon a Building: sometimes upon erecting of an Order; sometimes upon the advancing of a Person; sometimes upon obtaining Excellency in some Art, or Feat of the Hand: as *Nero* for playing on the Harp, *Domitian* for Certainty of the Hand with the Arrow, *Commodus* for playing at

Fence, *Caracalla* for driving Chariots, and the like. This seemeth incredible, unto those that know not the Principle; *That the Mind of Man is more cheered and refreshed by profiting in small things, than by standing at a stay in great.* We see also that *Kings*, that have been fortunate Conquerors in their first years, it being not possible for them to go forward infinitely, but that they must have some Check or Arrest in their Fortunes, turn in their latter years to be superstitious and melancholy: as did *Alexander* the Great; *Dioclesian*; and in our memory, *Charles* the Fifth; and others: for he that is used to go forward, and findeth a Stop, falleth out of his own favour, and is not the thing he was. To speak now of the true Temper of Empire: It is a Thing rare, and hard to keep: For both Temper and Distemper consist of Contraries. But it is one thing to mingle Contraries, another to interchange them. The answer of *Apollonius* to *Vespasian*, is full of excellent Instruction: *Vespasian* asked him; *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answered; *Nero could touch and tune the Harp well; but in Government sometimes he used to wind the Pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that Nothing destroyeth Authority so much, as the unequal and untimely Interchange of Power *pressed* too far, and *relaxed* too much.

This is true, that the Wisdom of all these latter Times in *Princes'* Affairs, is rather fine Deliveries, and Shiftings of Dangers and Mischiefs, when they are

near; than solid and grounded Courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try Masteries with Fortune. And let men beware, how they neglect, and suffer Matter of Trouble, to be prepared: for no Man can forbid the Spark, nor tell whence it may come. The Difficulties in *Princes'* Business, are many and great; but the greatest Difficulty is often in their own Mind. For it is common with *Princes*, (saith *Tacitus*) to will Contradictories. *Sunt plerumque Regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ.* For it is the Solecism of Power, to think to command the End, and yet not to endure the Mean.

Kings have to deal with their *Neighbours*, their *Wives*, their *Children*, their *Prelates* or *Clergy*, their *Nobles*, their *Second Nobles* or *Gentlemen*, their *Merchants*, their *Commons*, and their *Men of War*: And from all these arise Dangers, if Care and Circumspection be not used.

First for their *Neighbours*; There can no general Rule be given, (the Occasions are so variable,) save one; which ever holdeth: which is, That *Princes* do keep due Sentinel, that none of their *Neighbours* do overgrow so, (by increase of Territory, by embracing of Trade, by Approaches, or the like) as they become more able to annoy them, than they were. And this is, generally, the Work of Standing Counsels to foresee, and to hinder it. During that *Triumvirate* of *Kings* (*King Henry* the Eighth of *England*, *Francis* the First *King* of *France*, and *Charles* the Fifth *Emperor*), there was such a Watch kept,

that none of the Three could win a Palm of Ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by Confederation, or, if need were, by a War: and would not, in any wise, take up Peace at Interest. And the like was done by that League (which, *Guicciardini* saith, was the Security of *Italy*) made between *Ferdinando* King of *Naples*; *Lorenzious Medicis*, and *Ludovicus Sforza*, *Potentates*, the one of *Florence*, the other of *Milan*. Neither is the Opinion, of some of the Schoolmen, to be received; *That a War cannot justly be made, but upon a precedent Injury, or Provocation*. For there is no Question, but a just Fear of an imminent Danger, though there be no Blow given, is a lawful Cause of a War.

For *Wives*; There are cruel Examples of them. *Livia* is infamed for the poisoning of her Husband: *Roxalana*, *Solyman's* Wife, was the Destruction of that renowned Prince, *Sultan Mustapha*; and otherwise troubled his House, and Succession: *Edward* the Second of *England*, his Queen had the principal hand in the Deposing and Murder of her Husband. This kind of Danger is then to be feared, chiefly, when the *Wives* have Plots, for the raising of their own Children, or else that they be Advoutresses.

For their *Children*; The Tragedies likewise of Dangers from them, have been many. And generally, the Entering of Fathers into Suspicion of their *Children*, hath been ever Unfortunate. The Destruction of *Mustapha*, (that we named before) was so fatal to *Solyman's* Line, as the Succession of the *Turks*, from

Solyman, until this day, is suspected to be untrue, and of strange Blood; for that *Selymus* the Second, was thought to be supposititious. The Destruction of *Crispus*, a young Prince, of rare Towardness, by *Constantinus* the Great, his Father, was in like manner fatal to his House; for both *Constantinus* and *Constance*, his Sons, died violent deaths; and *Constantius* his other Son, did little better; who died, indeed, of Sickness, but after that *Julianus* had taken Arms against him. The Destruction of *Demetrius*, Son to *Philip* the Second, of *Macedon*, turned upon the Father, who died of Repentance. And many like Examples there are: but few, or none, where the Fathers had good by such Distrust; except it were, where the Sons were up, in open Arms against them, as was *Selymus* the First against *Bajazet*: and the three Sons of *Henry* the Second, King of *England*.

For their *Prelates*; When they are proud and great, there is also Danger from them: as it was in the times of *Anselmus*, and *Thomas Becket*, Archbishops of *Canterbury*; who with their Crossiers did almost try it with the King's Sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty Kings; *William Rufus*, *Henry* the First, and *Henry* the Second. The Danger is not from that *State*, but where it hath a Dependence of foreign Authority; or where the Churchmen come in, and are elected, not by the Collation of the King, or particular Patrons, but by the People.

For their *Nobles* ; To keep them at a distance, it is not amiss ; But to depress them, may make a King more Absolute, but less Safe ; and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it, in my History of King *Henry* the Seventh, of *England*, who depressed his *Nobility* ; whereupon, it came to pass, that his Times were full of Difficulties, and Troubles ; for the *Nobility*, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him, in his Business. So that in effect, he was fain to do all things himself.

For their *Second Nobles* ; There is not much Danger from them, being a Body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little Hurt : besides, they are a Counterpoise to the Higher *Nobility*, that they grow not too Potent : and lastly, being the most immediate in Authority with the Common People, they do best temper Popular Com-motions.

For their *Merchants* ; They are *Vena Porta* ; and if they flourish not, a Kingdom may have good Limbs, but will have empty Veins, and nourish little. Taxes, and Imposts upon them, do seldom good to the *King's* Revenue ; for that that he wins in the Hundred, he loseth in the Shire ; the particular Rates being increased, but the total Bulk of Trading rather decreased.

For their *Commons* ; There is little Danger from them, except it be, where they have Great and Potent Heads ; or where you meddle with the Point of Religion ; or their Customs, or Means of Life.

For their *Men of War* ; It is a dangerous State, where they live and remain in a Body, and are used to Donatives ; whereof we see Examples in the *Janizaries*, and *Pretorian Bands of Rome* : but Trainings of Men, and Arming them in several places, and under several Commanders, and without Donatives, are Things of Defence, and no Danger.

Princes are like to *Heavenly Bodies*, which cause good or evil Times ; and which have much *Veneration*, but no *Rest*. All precepts concerning *Kings*, are in effect comprehended in those two Remembrances : *Memento quod es Homo* ; And *Memento quod es Deus*, or *Vice Dei* : The one bridleth their Power, and the other their Will.

xx. Of Counfel.



THE greatest Trust, between Man and Man, is the Trust of *giving Counfel*. For in other Confidences, Men commit the parts of life ; their Lands, their Goods, their Children, their Credit, some particular Affair : but to such, as they make their *Counsellors*, they commit the whole. By how much the more, they are obliged to all Faith and Integrity. The wisest *Princes* need not think it any Diminution to their Greatness, or Derogation to their Sufficiency, to rely upon *Counfel*. *God* himself is not without : but hath made it one of the great Names, of his

bleſſed Son; *The Counſellor*. *Solomon* hath pronounced, that *In Counſel is Stability*. Things will have their firſt, or ſecond Agitation; if they be not toſſed upon the Arguments of *Counſel*, they will be toſſed upon the Waves of *Fortune*; and be full of Inconſtancy, doing and undoing, like the Reeling of a drunken Man. *Solomon's* Son found the Force of *Counſel*, as his Father ſaw the Neceſſity of it. For the beloved Kingdom of God was firſt rent, and broken by ill *Counſel*; upon which *Counſel* there are ſet, for our Inſtruction, the two Marks, whereby *Bad Counſel* is, for ever, beſt diſcerned: that it was *young Counſel*, for the Perſons; and *violent Counſel* for the Matter.

The ancient Times do ſet forth in Figure, both the Incorporation, and inſeparable Conjunction of *Counſel* with *Kings*; and the wiſe and politic uſe of *Counſel* by *Kings*: the one, in that they ſay, *Jupiter* did marry *Metis*, which ſignifieth *Counſel*; whereby they intend, that *Sovereignty* is married to *Counſel*: The other, in that which followeth, which was thus: They ſay after *Jupiter* was married to *Metis*, ſhe conceived by him, and was with Child; but *Jupiter* ſuffered her not to ſtay, till ſhe brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himſelf with Child, and was delivered of *Pallas Armed*, out of his Head. Which monſtrous Fable, containeth a Secret of *Empire*; how *Kings* are to make uſe of their *Counſel* of *State*. That firſt, they ought to refer Matters unto them, which is the firſt Begetting

or Impregnation ; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped, in the Womb of their *Council*, and grow ripe, and ready to be brought forth ; that then, they suffer not their *Council* to go through with the Resolution, and Direction, as if it depended on them ; but take the Matter back into their own Hands, and make it appear to the World, that the Decrees, and final Directions, (which, because they come forth with *Prudence*, and *Power*, are resembled to *Pallas Armed*) proceeded from themselves : And not only from their *Authority*, but (the more to add Reputation to themselves) from their *Head*, and *Device*.

Let us now speak of the *Inconveniences* of *Counsel*, and of the *Remedies*. The *Inconveniences*, that have been noted in calling, and using Counsel, are three. First, the Revealing of Affairs, whereby they become less *Secret*. Secondly, the Weakening of the Authority of Princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the Danger of being unfaithfully *counselled*, and more for the good of them that *counsel*, than of him that is *counselled*. For which *Inconveniences*, the Doctrine of *Italy*, and Practice of *France*, in some Kings' times, hath introduced *Cabinet Councils* ; a Remedy worse than the Disease.

As to *Secrecy* ; *Princes* are not bound to communicate all Matters, with all *Counsellors* ; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary, that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let *Princes* beware, that the *unse-*

creting of their Affairs, comes not from themselves. And as for *Cabinet Councils*, it may be their *Motto*; *Plenus rimarum sum*: one futile person, that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more Hurt, than many, that know it their Duty to conceal. It is true, there be some Affairs, which require extreme *Secrecy*, which will hardly go beyond one or two Persons, besides the *King*: neither are those *Counsels* unprosperous: for besides the *Secrecy*, they commonly go on constantly in one Spirit of Direction, without Distraction. But then it must be a prudent *King*, such as is able to grind with a *Hand-Mill*; and those *inward Counsellors* had need also, be Wise Men, and especially true and trusty to the King's Ends; as it was with King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, who in his greatest Business, imparted himself to none, except it were to *Morton*, and *Fox*.

For *Weakening of Authority*; The Fable sheweth the *Remedy*. Nay the Majesty of Kings is rather exalted, than diminished, when they are in the Chair of Council: neither was there ever *Prince*, bereaved of his Dependencies, by his *Council*; except where there hath been, either an Overgreatness in one *Counsellor*, or an Overstrict Combination in divers; which are Things soon found, and holpen.

For the last *Inconvenience*, that Men will *Counsel with an Eye to themselves*; certainly, *Non inveniet Fidem super terram*, is meant of the Nature of Times, and not of all particular Persons; there be, that are in Nature, faithful, and sincere, and plain, and direct;

not crafty, and involved: Let *Princes*, above all, draw to themselves such Natures. Besides, *Counsellors* are not commonly so united, but that one *Counsellor* keepeth Sentinel over another; so that if any do *Counsel* out of Faction, or private Ends, it commonly comes to the *King's* Ear. But the best *Remedy* is, if *Princes* know their *Counsellors*, as well as their *Counsellors* know Them:

Principis est Virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, *Counsellors* should not be too speculative, into their Sovereign's Person. The true Composition of a *Counsellor*, is rather to be skilful in their Master's Business, than in his Nature; for then he is like to advise him, and not to feed his Humour. It is of singular use to *Princes*, if they take the Opinions of their *Council*, both separately, and together. For private Opinion is more free; but Opinion before others is more reverend. In private, Men are more bold in their own Humours; and in consort, Men are more obnoxious to others' Humours; therefore it is good to take both: and of the inferior Sort, rather in private, to preserve Freedom; of the greater, rather in consort, to preserve Respect. It is in vain for *Princes* to take *Counsel* concerning *Matters*, if they take no *Counsel* likewise concerning Persons: for all *Matters* are as dead Images; and the Life of the Execution of Affairs, resteth in the good Choice of *Persons*. Neither is it enough to consult concerning *Persons*, *secundum Genera*, as in an *Idea*, or *Mathe-*

matical Description, what the Kind and Character of the *Person* should be; for the greatest Errors are committed, and the most Judgment is shown, in the choice of *Individuals*. It was truly said; *Optimi Consiliarii mortui*; *Books* will speak plain, when *Counsellors* blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them; specially the *Books* of such, as themselves have been Actors upon the Stage.

The *Councils*, at this Day, in most places, are but familiar Meetings; where Matters are rather talked on, than debated. And they run too swift to the Order or Act of *Council*. It were better, that in Causes of weight, the Matter were propounded one day, and not spoken to, till the next day; *In Nocte Consilium*. So was it done, in the Commission of *Union*, between *England* and *Scotland*; which was a grave and orderly Assembly. I commend set Days for Petitions: for both it gives the Suitors more certainty for their Attendance; and it frees the Meetings for Matters of Estate, that they may *Hoc agere*. In choice of Committees, for ripening Business, for the *Council*, it is better to choose Indifferent Persons, than to make an Indifferency, by putting in those, that are strong, on both sides. I commend also *standing Commissions*; as for Trade; for Treasure; for War; for Suits; for some Provinces: for where there be divers particular *Councils*, and but one *Council* of Estate, (as it is in *Spain*) they are in effect no more, than *Standing Commissions*; save that they have greater Authority. Let such, as are to inform

Councils, out of their particular Professions, (as Lawyers, Seamen, Mintmen, and the like) be first heard, before *Committees*; and then, as Occasion serves, before the *Council*. And let them not come in multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is, to clamour *Councils*, not to inform them. A long Table, and a square Table, or Seats about the Walls, seem Things of Form, but are Things of Substance; for at a long Table, a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the Business: but in the other Form, there is more use of the *Counsellors'* Opinions, that sit lower. A *King*, when he presides in *Council*, let him beware how he opens his own Inclination too much, in that which he propoundeth: for else *Counsellors* will but take the Wind of him; and instead of giving free Counsel, sing him a Song of *Placebo*.

XXI. Of Delays.



FORTUNE is like the *Market*; where many times, if you can stay a little, the Price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like *Sybilla's* Offer; which at first offereth the Commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the Price. For *Occasion* (as it is in the common Verse) *turneth a Bald Noddle, after she hath presented her Locks in front, and no hold taken*: or at least turneth the

Handle of the Bottle, first to be received, and after the Belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater Wisdom, than well to time the Beginnings, and Onsets of Things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light: and more Dangers have deceived Men, than forced them. Nay, it were better, to meet some Dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their Approaches; for if a Man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived, with too long Shadows (as some have been, when the Moon was low, and shone on their Enemies' Back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach Dangers to come on, by over early buckling towards them, is another Extreme. The Ripeness, or Unripeness, of the Occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally, it is good, to commit the Beginnings of all great Actions, to *Argus* with his hundred Eyes; and the Ends to *Briareus* with his hundred Hands: First to Watch, and then to Speed. For the *Helmet of Pluto*, which maketh the politic Man go invisable, is *Secrecy* in the Council, and *Celerity* in the Execution. For when Things are once come to the Execution, there is no *Secrecy* comparable to *Celerity*; like the Motion of a Bullet in the Air, which flieth so swift, as it outruns the Eye.

XXII. Of Cunning.



WE take *Cunning* for a sinister or crooked Wisdom. And certainly, there is great difference, between a *cunning* Man, and a *wise* Man; not only in Point of Honesty, but in point of Ability. There be that can pack the Cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some, that are good in Canvasses, and Factions, that are otherwise weak Men. Again, it is one thing to understand Persons, and another thing to understand Matters; for many are perfect in Men's Humours, that are not greatly capable of the real Part of Business; which is the Constitution of one, that hath studied Men, more than Books. Such Men are fitter for practice, than for Counsel; and they are good but in their own Alley: turn them to new Men, and they have lost their Aim; so as the old Rule, to know a Fool from a Wise Man; *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis*; doth scarce hold for them. And because these *Cunning Men*, are like Haberdashers of small Wares, it is not amiss to set forth their Shop.

It is a Point of *Cunning*; to wait upon him, with whom you speak, with your Eye; as the Jesuits give it in precept: for there be many Wise Men, that have secret Hearts, and transparent Countenances. Yet this would be done, with a demure abasing of your Eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any Thing to obtain of present Dispatch, you entertain, and amuse the Party, with whom you deal, with some other Discourse; that he be not too much awake, to make Objections. I knew a *Counsellor* and *Secretary*, that never came to *Queen Elizabeth* of *England*, with Bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some Discourse of Estate, that she might the less mind the Bills.

The like Surprise may be made, by moving Things, when the Party is in haste, and cannot stay, to consider advisedly, of that is moved.

If a Man would cross a Business, that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself, in such sort, as may foil it.

The breaking off, in the midst of that, one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater Appetite in him, with whom you confer, to know more.

And because it works better, when any Thing seemeth to be gotten from you by Question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a Bait for a Question, by showing another Visage and Countenance, than you are wont; to the end, to give Occasion for the party to ask what the Matter is of the Change? As *Nehemiah* did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the King.*

In Things, that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice, by some whose Words are of

less weight, and to reserve the more weighty Voice, to come in, as by chance, so that he may be asked the Question upon the other's Speech. As *Narcissus* did, in relating to *Claudius*, the Marriage of *Messalina* and *Silius*.

In Things, that a Man would not be seen in himself; it is a Point of *Cunning*, to borrow the Name of the World; as to say; *The World says*, or, *There is a Speech abroad*.

I knew one, that when he wrote a Letter, he would put that which was most Material, in the *Post-script*, as if it had been a By-Matter.

I knew another, that when he came to have Speech, he would pass over that, that he intended most, and go forth, and come back again and speak of it, as of a Thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves, to be surprized, at such times, as it is like, the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them: and to be found with a Letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end, they may be apposed of those things, which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a Point of *Cunning*, to let fall those Words, in a Man's own Name, which he would have another Man learn, and use, and thereupon take Advantage. I knew two, that were Competitors, for the Secretary's Place, in *Queen Elizabeth's* time, and yet kept good Quarter between themselves; and would confer, one with another, upon the Business;

and the one of them said, That to be a Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*, was a ticklish Thing, and that he did not affect it: the other, straight caught up those Words, and discoursed with divers of his Friends, that he had no reason to desire to be Secretary, in the *Declination of a Monarchy*. The first Man took hold of it, and found Means, it was told the *Queen*; who hearing of a *Declination of a Monarchy*, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's Suit.

There is a *Cunning*, which we in *England* call, *the Turning of the Cat in the Pan*; which is, when that which a Man says to another, he lays it, as if another had said it to him. And to say Truth, it is not easy, when such a Matter passed between two, to make it appear, from which of them, it first moved and began.

It is a way, that some men have, to glance and dart at others, by justifying themselves, by Negatives; as to say, *This I do not*: as *Tigellinus* did towards *Burrhus*; *Se non diversas spes, sed Incolumitatem Imperatoris simpliciter spectare*.

Some have in readiness, so many Tales and Stories, as there is Nothing, they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a Tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in Guard, and to make others carry it, with more Pleasure.

It is a good Point of *Cunning*, for a Man, to shape the Answer he would have, in his own Words, and Propositions; for it makes the other Party stick the less.

It is strange, how long some Men will lie in wait, to speak somewhat, they desire to say ; and how far about they will fetch ; and how many other Matters they will beat over, to come near it. It is a Thing of great Patience, but yet of much Use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected Question, doth many times surprize a Man, and lay him open. Like to him, that having changed his Name, and walking in *Paul's*, another suddenly came behind him, and called him by his true Name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small Wares, and petty Points of *Cunning*, are infinite : And it were a good deed, to make a List of them : for that nothing doth more hurt in a State, than that *Cunning Men* pass for *Wise*.

But certainly, some there are, that know the Resorts and Falls of Business, that cannot sink into the Main of it : like a House that hath convenient Stairs, and Entries, but never a fair Room. Therefore, you shall see them find out pretty Looses in the Conclusion, but are no ways able to examine, or debate Matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their Inability, and would be thought Wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say ;) *putting Tricks upon them* ; than upon Soundness of their own Proceedings. But *Salomon* saith ; *Prudens advertit ad Gressus suos : Stultus divertit ad Dolos.*

XXIII. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.



AN *Ant* is a *wise Creature* for it Self; but it is a shrewd Thing, in an Orchard, or Garden. And certainly, Men that are great *Lovers of Themselves*, waste the Publick. Divide with reason between *Self-love*, and *Society*: and be so true to thy *Self*, as thou be not false to Others; specially to thy King, and Country. It is a poor Centre of a Man's actions, *Himself*. It is right Earth. For that only stands fast upon his own Centre; whereas all Things, that have Affinity with the *Heavens*, move upon the Centre of another, which they benefit. The Referring of all to a *Man's Self*, is more tolerable in a Sovereign Prince; because *Themselves* are not only *Themselves*; but their Good and Evil, is at the peril of the publick Fortune. But it is a desperate Evil in a Servant to a Prince, or a Citizen in a Republick. For whatsoever Affairs pass such a Man's Hands, he crooketh them to his own Ends: which must needs be often Eccentrick to the Ends of his Master, or State. Therefore let Princes, or States, choose such Servants, as have not this mark; except they mean their Service should be made but the Accessary. That which maketh the Effect more pernicious is, that all Proportion is lost. It were Disproportion enough, for the Servant's Good, to be preferred before the Master's; but yet it is a greater

Extreme, when a little Good of the Servant, shall carry Things against a great Good of the Master's. And yet that is the case of bad Officers, Treasurers, Ambassadors, Generals, and other false and corrupt Servants ; which set a Bias upon their Bowl, of their own petty Ends, and Envies, to the overthrow of their Master's great and important Affairs. And for the most part, the Good such Servants receive, is after the Model of their own Fortune ; but the Hurt they sell for that Good, is after the Model of their Master's Fortune. And certainly, it is the Nature of extreme *Self-Lovers* ; as they will set an House on Fire, and it were but to roast their Eggs : and yet these Men, many times, hold credit with their Masters ; because their Study is but to please Them, and profit *Themselves* : and for either respect, they will abandon the Good of their Affairs.

Wisdom for a Man's Self, is in many Branches thereof, a depraved Thing. It is the *Wisdom of Rats*, that will be sure to leave a House, somewhat before it fall. It is the *Wisdom of the Fox*, that thrusts out the *Badger*, who digged and made Room for him. It is the *Wisdom of Crocodiles*, that shed tears, when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those, which (as *Cicero* says of *Pompey*) are, *Sui Amantes sine Rivali*, are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their time sacrificed to *Themselves*, they become in the end *themselves* Sacrifices to the Inconstancy of Fortune ; whose Wings they thought, by their *Self-Wisdom*, to have pinioned.

XXIV. Of Innovations.



AS the Births of Living Creatures, at first, are ill shapen ; so are all *Innovations*, which are the Births of Time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring Honour into their Family, are commonly more worthy, than most that succeed ; so the first Precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by Imitation. For Ill, to Man's Nature, as it stands perverted, hath a natural Motion, strongest in continuance : but Good, as a forced Motion, strongest at first. Surely every *Medicine* is an *Innovation* ; and he that will not apply new Remedies, must expect new Evils : for Time is the greatest *Innovator* : and if Time, of course, alter Things to the worse, and Wisdom, and Counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the End ? It is true, that what is settled by Custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those Things, which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves : whereas new Things piece not so well ; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble, by their Inconformity. Besides, they are like *Strangers* ; more admired, and less favoured. All this is true, if Time stood still ; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward Retention of Custom, is as turbulent a Thing, as an *Innovation* : and they that reverence too much Old Times, are but

a Scorn to the New. It were good therefore, that Men in their *Innovations*, would follow the Example of Time itself; which indeed *innovateth* greatly, but quietly, and by degrees, scarce to be perceived: for otherwise, whatsoever is new, is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other: and he that is holpen, takes it for a Fortune, and thanks the Time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the Author. It is good also, not to try Experiments in States; except the Necessity be urgent, or the Utility evident: and well to beware, that it be the Reformation, that draweth on the Change; and not the desire of Change, that pretendeth the Reformation. And lastly, that the *Novelty*, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a Suspect: and, as the Scripture saith; *That we make a stand upon the Ancient Way, and then look about us, and discover, what is the straight, and right way, and so to walk in it.*

xxv. Of Dispatch.



AFFECTED Dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to Business that can be. It is like that, which the Physicians call *Predigestion*, or *Hasty Digestion*; which is sure to fill the Body, full of Crudities, and secret Seeds of Diseases. Therefore, measure no *Dispatch*, by the Times of Sitting, but by the Ad-

vancement of the Business. And as in Races, it is not the large Stride, or High Lift, that makes the Speed : so in Business, the Keeping close to the matter, and not Taking of it too much at once, procureth *Dispatch*. It is the Care of some, only to come off speedily, for the time ; or to contrive some false Periods of Business, because they may seem *Men of Dispatch*. But it is one Thing, to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off : and Business so handled at several Sitzings or Meetings, goeth commonly backward and forward, in an unsteady Manner. I knew a *wise Man*, that had it for a By-word, when he saw Men hasten to a conclusion ; *Stay a little, that we may make an End the sooner*.

On the other side, *true Dispatch* is a rich Thing. For Time is the measure of Business, as Money is of Wares : and Business is bought at a dear Hand, where there is small *Dispatch*. The *Spartans*, and *Spaniards*, have been noted to be of small *Dispatch* ; *Mi venga la Muerte de Spagna ; Let my Death come from Spain* ; for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good Hearing to those, that give the first Information in Business ; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their Speeches : for he that is put out of his own Order, will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his Memory, than he could have been, if he had gone on, in his own course. But sometimes it is seen, that the Moderator is more troublesome than the Actor.

Iterations are commonly los of Time : but there is no such gain of Time, as to *iterate* often the *State* of the *Question* : for it chafeth away many a Frivolous Speech, as it is coming forth. Long and curious Speeches, are as fit for *Dispatch*, as a Robe or Mantle with a long Train is for Race. Prefaces, and Passages, and Excusations, and other Speeches of Reference to the Person, are great wastes of Time ; and though they seem to proceed of Modesty, they are Bravery. Yet beware of being too Material, when there is any Impediment or Obstruction in Men's Wills ; for Pre-occupation of Mind, ever requireth preface of Speech ; like a Fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, *Order*, and *Distribution*, and *Singling* out of *Parts*, is the life of *Dispatch* ; so as the *Distribution* be not too subtil : for he that doth not divide, will never enter well into Business ; and he that divideth too much, will never come out of it clearly. To choose Time, is to save Time ; and an unseasonable Motion is but beating the Air. There be three Parts of Business : the *Preparation* ; the *Debate*, or *Examination* ; and the *Perfection*. Whereof, if you look for *Dispatch*, let the Middle only be the Work of Many, and the First and Last the Work of Few. The Proceeding upon somewhat conceived in Writing, doth for the most part facilitate *Dispatch* : for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that *Negative* is more pregnant of Direction, than an *Indefinite* ; as Ashes are more generative than Dust.

XXVI. Of Seeming Wise.



T hath been an Opinion, that the *French* are wiser than they seem; and the *Spaniards* seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between Nations, certainly it is so between Man and Man. For as the *Apostle* saith of *Godliness*; *Having a shew of Godliness, but denying the Power thereof*; so certainly, there are in Points of Wisdom, and Sufficiency, that do nothing or little, very solemnly; *Magno conatu Nugas*. It is a ridiculous Thing, and fit for a Satire, to Persons of Judgment, to see what shifts these Formallists have, and what Prospectives, to make *Superficies* to seem *Body*, that hath Depth and Bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their Wares, but by a dark Light: and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves, they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others, to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with Countenance, and Gesture, and are wise by Signs; as *Cicero* saith of *Piso*, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his Brows, up to his Forehead, and bent the other down to his Chin: *Respondes, altero ad Frontem sublato, altero ad Mentum depresso supercilio*; *Crudelitatem tibi non placere*. Some think to bear it, by speaking a great Word, and

being peremptory ; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it, as impertinent, or curious ; and so would have their Ignorance seem Judgment. Some are never without a Difference, and commonly by amusing Men with a Subtilty, blanch the matter ; Of whom *A. Gellius* saith ; *Hominem delirum, qui Verborum Minutiis Rerum frangit Pondera.* Of which kind also, *Plato* in his *Protagoras* bringeth in *Prodicus*, in Scorn, and maketh him make a Speech, that consisteth of Distinctions from the Beginning to the End. Generally, such Men in all Deliberations, find ease to be of the negative Side ; and affect a Credit, to object and foretell Difficulties : for when propositions are denied, there is an End of them : but if they be allowed, it requireth a new Work : which false Point of Wisdom, is the Bane of Business. To conclude, there is no decaying Merchant, or inward Beggar, hath so many Tricks, to uphold the Credit of their Wealth, as these empty Persons have, to maintain the Credit of their Sufficiency. *Seeming Wise-men* may make shift to get Opinion : but let no Man choose them for Employment ; for certainly, you were better take for Business, a Man somewhat absurd, than over formal.

XXVII. Of Friendship.



T had been hard for him that spake it, to have put more Truth and Untruth together, in few Words, than in that Speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude, is either a wild Beast, or a God.* For it is most true, that a natural and secret Hatred, and Averfation towards *Society*, in any Man, hath somewhat of the savage Beast; but it is most untrue, that it should have any Character at all, of the Divine Nature; except it proceed, not out of a Pleasure in *Solitude*, but out of a Love and Desire, to sequester a Man's Self, for a higher Conversation: such as is found, to have been falsely and feignedly, in some of the Heathen; as *Epimenides* the Candian, *Numa* the Roman, *Empedocles* the Scicilian, and *Apollonius* of Tyana; and truly and really, in divers of the ancient Hermits, and holy Fathers of the Church. But little do Men perceive what *Solitude* is, and how far it extendeth. For a Crowd is not Company; and Faces are but a Gallery of Pictures; and Talk but a *tinkling Cymbal*, where there is no *Love*. The Latin Adage meeteth with it a little; *Magna Civitas, magna Solitudo*; because in a great Town, *Friends* are scattered; so that there is not that Fellowship, for the most Part, which is in less *Neighbourhoods*. But we may go further, and affirm most truly, That it is a mere and miserable

Solitude, to want true *Friends*; without which the World is but a Wilderness: and even in this sense also of *Solitude*, whosoever in the Frame of his Nature and Affections, is unfit for *Friendship*, he taketh it of the Beast, and not from Humanity.

A principal *Fruit* of *Friendship*, is the Ease and Discharge of the Fulness and Swellings of the Heart, which Passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know Diseases of Stoppings, and Suffocations, are the most dangerous in the Body; and it is not much otherwise in the Mind: You may take *Sarza* to open the Liver; *Steel* to open the Spleen; *Flower* of *Sulphur* for the Lungs; *Castoreum* for the Brain; but no Receipt openeth the Heart, but a true Friend, to whom you may impart Griefs, Joys, Fears, Hopes, Suspicions, Counsels, and whatsoever liveth upon the Heart, to oppress it, in a kind of civil Shrift or Confession.

It is a strange Thing to observe, how high a Rate, great Kings and Monarchs do set upon this *Fruit* of *Friendship*, whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it, many times, at the hazard of their own Safety and Greatness. For Princes, in regard of the distance of their Fortune, from that of their Subjects and Servants, cannot gather this *Fruit*; except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some Persons to be, as it were, Companions, and almost Equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern Languages give unto such Persons, the name of *Favourites*, or *Privadoes*; as if

it were matter of Grace, or Conversation. But the Roman Name attaineth the true Use, and Cause thereof; Naming them *Participes Curarum*; for it is that, which tieth the knot. And we see plainly, that this hath been done, not by weak and-passionate *Princes* only, but by the wisest and most politick that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves, some of their Servants, whom both themselves have called *Friends*; and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner; using the Word which is received between private Men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded *Rome*, raised *Pompey* (after surnamed the *Great*) to that Height, that *Pompey* vaunted himself for *Sylla's* Overmatch. For when he had carried the *Consulship* for a Friend of his, against the pursuit of *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* did a little repent thereat, and began to speak great, *Pompey* turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *For that more Men adored the Sun rising, than the Sun setting.* With *Julius Cæsar*, *Decimus Brutus* had obtained that Interest, as he set him down, in his Testament, for Heir, in Remainder after his *Nephew*. And this was the Man, that had power with him, to draw him forth to his Death. For when *Cæsar* would have discharged the Senate, in regard of some ill Presages, and specially a Dream of *Calpurnia*, this Man lifted him gently by the Arm, out of his Chair, telling him, he hoped he would not dismiss the Senate, till his Wife had dreamt a better Dream. And it seemeth, his Favour was so great,

as *Antonius* in a Letter, which is recited *verbatim*, in one of *Cicero's Philippics*, calleth him *Venefica, Witch*; as if he had enchanted *Cæsar*. *Augustus* raised *Agrippa* (though of mean Birth) to that Height, as when he consulted with *Mæcenas*, about the Marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, *Mæcenas* took the Liberty to tell him; *That he must either marry his Daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life, there was no third way, he had made him so great*. With *Tiberius Cæsar*, *Sejanus* had ascended to that Height, as they Two were termed and reckoned, as a Pair of Friends. *Tiberius* in a Letter to him saith; *Hæc pro Amicitia nostrâ non occultavi*: and the whole Senate, dedicated an Altar to *Friendship*, as to a *Goddess*, in respect of the great Dearness of *Friendship*, between them Two. The like or more was between *Septimius Severus*, and *Plantianus*. For he forced his eldest Son to marry the Daughter of *Plantianus*, and would often maintain *Plantianus*, in doing Affronts to his Son: and did write also in a Letter to the Senate, by these Words: *I love the Man so well, as I wish he may over-live me*. Now if these Princes had been as a *Trajan*, or a *Marcus Aurelius*, a Man might have thought, that this had proceeded of an abundant Goodness of Nature; but being Men so Wise, of such Strength and Severity of Mind, and so extreme Lovers of themselves, as all these were; it proveth most plainly, that they found their own Felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal Men) but as an Half Piece, ex-

cept they might have a *Friend* to make it entire ; and yet, which is more, they were *Princes*, that had Wives, Sons, Nephews ; and yet all these could not supply the Comfort of *Friendship*.

It is not to be forgotten, what *Commineus* observeth, of his first Master *Duke Charles* the *Hardy* ; namely that he would communicate his Secrets with none ; and least of all, those Secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on, and saith, that towards his latter time ; *That Closeness did impair, and a little perish his Understanding*. Surely *Commineus* might have made the same Judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second Master *Louis* the Eleventh, whose Closeness was indeed his Tormentor. The Parable of *Pythagoras* is dark, but true ; *Cor ne edito ; Eat not the Heart*. Certainly, if a Man would give it a hard Phrase, those that want *Friends* to open themselves unto, are Cannibals of their own *Hearts*. But one Thing is most admirable, (wherewith I will conclude this first *Fruit of Friendship*) which is, that this communicating of a Man's self to his *Friend*, works two contrary Effects ; for it redoubleth *Joy*s, and cutteth *Grief*s in Halves. For there is no Man, that imparteth his *Joy*s to his *Friend*, but he *joyeth* the more ; and no Man, that imparteth his *Grief*s to his *Friend*, but he *grieveth* the less. So that it is, in Truth of Operation upon a Man's Mind, of like virtue, as the *Alchymists* use to attribute to their Stone, for Man's Body : that it worketh all contrary Effects, but still to the Good,

and Benefit of Nature. But yet, without praying in Aid of *Alchymists*, there is a manifest Image of this, in the ordinary course of Nature. For in Bodies, *Union* strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural Action; and, on the other side, weakeneth and dulleth any violent Impression: and even so is it of Minds.

The second *Fruit of Friendship*, is healthful and sovereign for the *Understanding*, as the first is for the *Affections*. For *Friendship* maketh indeed a *fair Day* in the *Affections*, from Storm and Tempests: but it maketh *Day-light* in the *Understanding*, out of Darkness and Confusion of Thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of Faithful Counsel, which a Man receiveth from his *Friend*; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever hath his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with Another: he tosseth his Thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into Words; finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's Discourse, than by a Day's Meditation. It was well said by *Themistocles* to the King of *Persia*; *That speech was like Cloth of Arras, opened, and put abroad; whereby the Imagery doth appear in Figure, whereas in Thoughts, they lie but as in Packs*. Neither is this second *Fruit of Friendship*, in opening the *Understanding*, restrained only to such *Friends*, as are able to give a Man Counsel: (they

indeed are best) but even, without that, a Man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own Thoughts to Light, and whetteth his Wits as against a Stone which itself cuts not. In a word, a Man were better relate himself to a Statua, or Picture, than to suffer his Thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second *Fruit of Friendship* complete, that other Point, which lieth more open, and falleth within vulgar Observation; which is *Faithful Counsel* from a *Friend*. *Heraclitus* saith well, in one of his Enigmas; *Dry Light is ever the best*. And certain it is, that the Light, that a man receiveth, by Counsel from another, is drier, and purer, than that which cometh from his own Understanding, and Judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his Affections and Customs. So as, there is as much difference, between the *Counsel*, that a *Friend* giveth, and that a Man giveth himself, as there is between the *Counsel* of a *Friend*, and of a *Flatterer*. For there is no such *Flatterer*, as is a Man's Self; and there is no such Remedy, against *Flattery* of a Man's Self, as the Liberty of a *Friend*. *Counsel* is of two sorts; the one concerning *Manners*, the other concerning *Business*. For the First; the best Preservative to keep the Mind in Health, is the faithful Admonition of a *Friend*. The calling of a Man's Self to a strict Account, is a Medicine, sometime, too piercing and corrosive. Reading good Books of *Morality*, is a little flat, and dead. Observing our Faults in others, is sometimes improper for our case.

But the best Receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the Admonition of a *Friend*. It is a strange thing to behold, what gross Errors, and extreme Absurdities, many (especially of the greater Sort) do commit, for want of a *Friend*, to tell them of them; to the great damage, both of their Fame and Fortune. For as *S. James* saith; *They look sometimes into a Glass, and presently forget their own Shape and Favour*. As for *Business*, a Man may think, if he will, that two Eyes see no more than one; or that a Gamester seeth always more than a Looker on; or that a Man in Anger, is as Wise as he, that hath said over the four and twenty Letters; or that a Musket may be shot off, as well upon the Arm, as upon a Rest; and such other fond and high Imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the Help of good *Counsel*, is that which setteth *Business* straight. And if any Man think that he will take *Counsel*, but it shall be by pieces; asking *Counsel* in one Business of one man, and in another Business of another man; it is well, (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all;) but he runneth two dangers: one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare Thing except it be from a perfect and entire *Friend*, to have Counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends, which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have Counsel given, hurtful, and unsafe, (though with good meaning) and mixt, partly of Mischief, and partly of Remedy: Even as if you

would call a Physician, that is thought good, for the Cure of the Disease, you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and therefore, may put you in way for a present Cure, but overthroweth your Health in some other kind; and so cure the Disease, and kill the Patient. But a *Friend*, that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate, will beware by furthering any present *Business*, how he dasheth upon other Inconvenience. And therefore, rest not upon *scattered Counsels*: they will rather distract, and mislead, than settle, and direct.

After these two noble *Fruits of Friendship*; (*Peace in the Affections*, and *Support of the Judgment*,) followeth the last *Fruit*; which is like the *Pomegranate*, full of many kernels; I mean *Aid*, and *bearing a Part*, in all *Actions* and *Occasions*. Here, the best way, to represent to life the manifold use of *Friendship*, is to cast and see, how many things there are, which a Man cannot do himself; and then it will appear, that it was a sparing Speech of the Ancients, to say, *That a Friend is another himself*: For that a *Friend* is far more than *himself*. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things, which they principally take to Heart; the bestowing of a Child, the finishing of a Work, or the like. If a Man have a true *Friend*, he may rest almost secure, that the Care of those things, will continue after him. So that a man hath as it were two Lives in his desires. A Man hath a Body, and that Body is confined to a Place; but where *Friendship*

is, all Offices of Life, are as it were granted to him, and his deputy. For he may exercise them by his *Friend*. How many things are there, which a Man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A Man can scarce allege his own Merits with modesty, much less extol them: A Man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg: And a number of the like. But all these things, are graceful in a *Friend's* Mouth, which are blushing in a Man's own. So again, a Man's person hath many proper Relations, which he cannot put off. A Man cannot speak to his Son, but as a Father; to his Wife, but as a Husband; to his Enemy, but upon Terms: Whereas a *Friend* may speak, as the case requires, and not as it forteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless: I have given the Rule, where a Man cannot fitly play his own Part: If he have not a *Friend*, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. Of Expense.



RICHES are for Spending; and Spending for Honour and good Actions. Therefore *extraordinary Expense* must be limited by the worth of the occasion: For *voluntary Undoing* may be as well for a Man's Country, as for the *Kingdom of Heaven*. But *ordinary Expense* ought to be limited by a man's Estate;

and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to Deceit and Abuse of Servants; and ordered to the best Shew, that the Bills may be less, than the Estimation abroad. Certainly, if a Man will keep but of Even Hand, his *ordinary Expenses* ought to be, but to the Half of his Receipts; and if he think to wax Rich, but to the third part. It is no Baseness, for the Greatest, to descend and look, into their own *Estate*. Some forbear it, not upon Negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into Melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But Wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own Estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often: For New are more timorous, and less subtle. He that can look into his Estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A Man had need, if he be plentiful, in some kind of *Expense*, to be as saving again, in some other. As if he be plentiful in Diet, to be saving in Apparel: if he be plentiful in the Hall, to be saving in the Stable: And the like. For he that is plentiful in *Expenses* of all kinds, will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a Man's Estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long. For hasty Selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once, will relapse; for finding himself out of Straights, he will revert to his Customs: But he that cleareth by Degrees, in-

duceth a Habit of Frugality, and gaineth as well upon his Mind, as upon his Estate. Certainly, who hath a State to repair, may not despise small things: And commonly, it is less dishonourable, to abridge petty Charges, than to stoop to petty gettings. A Man ought warily to begin Charges which once begun will continue: but in Matters that return not, he may be more magnificent.

XXIX. Of the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.



THE Speech of *Themistocles* the *Athenian*, which was haughty and arrogant, in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise Observation and Censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a Feast to touch a Lute, he said; *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small Town, a great City.* These words (holpen a little with a Metaphor) may express two different Abilities, in those that deal in Business of Estate. For if a true Survey be taken, of Counsellors and Statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those, which can make a *Small State great*, and yet cannot *fiddle*: As on the other side, there will be found a great many, that can *fiddle* very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able, to make a *Small State great*, as their Gift lieth the

other way ; to bring a great and flourishing Estate to Ruin and Decay. And certainly, those degenerate Arts and Shifts whereby many Counsellors and Governors gain both *Favour* with their Masters, and Estimation with the Vulgar, deserve no better name than *Fiddling* ; being things, rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the Weal and Advancement of the State, which they serve. There are also (no doubt) Counsellors and Governors, which may be held sufficient, (*Negotiis pares*,) able to manage Affairs, and to keep them from *Precipices*, and manifest Inconveniences ; which nevertheless, are far from the Ability, to raise and amplify an Estate, in Power, Means, and Fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the Work ; that is ; The true *Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates* ; and the *Means* thereof. An Argument, fit for great and mighty Princes, to have in their hand ; to the end, that neither by over-measuring their Forces, they lose themselves in vain Enterprises ; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous Counsels.

The *Greatness* of an Estate in Bulk and Territory, doth fall under Measure ; and the *Greatness* of Finances and Revenue doth fall under Computation. The Population may appear by Musters : And the Number and Greatness of Cities and Towns, by Cards and Maps. But yet there is not any thing amongst civil Affairs, more subject to Error, than the

right Valuation, and true Judgment, concerning the Power and Forces of an Estate. The *Kingdom of Heaven* is compared, not to any great Kernel or Nut, but to a *Grain of Mustard-feed*; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a Property and Spirit, hastily to get up and spread. So are there States, great in Territory, and yet not apt to enlarge, or command; and some, that have but a small Dimension of Stem, and yet apt to be the Foundations of great Monarchies.

Walled Towns, stored Arsenals and Armouries, goodly Races of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordnance, Artillery, and the like: all this is but a Sheep in a Lion's Skin, except the Breed and Disposition of the People, be stout and warlike. Nay, Number itself in Armies, importeth not much, where the People is of weak Courage: For (as *Virgil* saith) *It never troubles a Wolf, how many the sheep be.* The Army of the *Persians*, in the Plains of *Arbela*, was such a vast Sea of People, as it did somewhat astonish the Commanders in *Alexander's* Army; who came to him therefore, and wished him, to set upon them by Night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the Victory.* And the Defeat was easy. When *Tigranes* the *Armenian*, being encamped upon a Hill, with 400,000 Men, discovered the Army of the *Romans*, being not above 14,000, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it, and said; *Yonder Men, are too Many for an Ambassage, and too Few for a Fight.* But before the Sun

set, he found them enough to give him the Chase, with infinite Slaughter. Many are the examples, of the great odds between Number and Courage: So that a Man may truly make a Judgment; that the principal Point of *Greatness* in any *State*, is to have a Race of Military Men. Neither is Money the Sinews of War, (as it is trivially said) where the Sinews of Men's Arms in base and effeminate People, are failing. For *Solon* said well to *Cræsus* (when in Ostentation he shewed him his Gold); *Sir, if any other come, that hath better Iron than you, he will be Master of all this Gold.* Therefore let any Prince or State, think soberly of his Forces, except his *Militia* of Natives be of good and valiant Soldiers. And let Princes, on the other side, that have Subjects of martial Disposition, know their own Strength; unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for *mercenary Forces*, (which is the Help in this Case) all Examples show; that whatsoever Estate or Prince doth rest upon them; *He may spread his Feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.*

The *Blessing* of *Judah* and *Issachar* will never meet; *That the same People or Nation, should be both the Lion's Whelp, and the Ass between Burthens:* Neither will it be that a People overlaid with *Taxes*, should ever become valiant, and martial. It is true, that *Taxes* levied by Consent of the Estate, do abate Men's Courage less; as it hath been seen notably, in the *Excises* of the *Low Countries*; and in some degree, in the *Subsidies* of *England*. For

you must note, that we speak now, of the Heart, and not of the Purse. So that, although the same *Tribute* and *Tax*, laid by Consent, or by Imposing, be all one to the Purse, yet it works diversly upon the Courage. So that you may conclude ; *That no People over-charged with Tribute, is fit for Empire.*

Let States that aim at *Greatness*, take heed how their *Nobility* and *Gentlemen*, do multiply too fast. For that maketh the common Subject grow to be a Peasant, and base Swain, driven out of Heart, and in effect but the *Gentleman's* Labourer. Even as you may see in Coppice Woods ; *If you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean Underwood, but Shrubs and Bushes.* So in Countries, if the *Gentlemen* be too many, the *Commons* will be base ; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an Helmet : especially as to the *Infantry*, which is the Nerve of an Army : and so there will be great Population, and little Strength. This, which I speak of, hath been no where better seen, than by comparing of *England* and *France* ; whereof *England*, though far less in Territory and Population, hath been (nevertheless) an Overmatch ; In regard, the *Middle People* of *England* make good Soldiers, which the Peasants of *France* do not. And herein, the device of King *Henry* the Seventh, (whereof I have spoken largely in the *History of his Life*) was profound and admirable ; In making Farms, and houses of Husbandry, of a Standard ; That is, maintained with such a Proportion of Land

unto them, as may breed a Subject to live in convenient Plenty, and no servile Condition ; and to keep the Plough in the Hands of the Owners, and not mere Hirelings. And thus indeed, you shall attain to *Virgil's* Character, which he gives to Ancient *Italy*.

Terra potens Armis, atque ubere Glebæ.

Neither is that State (which for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to *England*, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in *Poland*) to be passed over ; I mean the State of *free Servants* and *Attendants* upon *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* ; which are no ways inferior unto the *Yeomanry*, for Arms. And therefore, out of all Question, the Splendour, and Magnificence, and great Retinues, and Hospitality of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, received into Custom, doth much conduce unto *Martial Greatness*. Whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of *Noblemen*, and *Gentlemen*, causeth a Penury of *Military Forces*.

By all means, it is to be procured, that the *Trunk* of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Tree of *Monarchy*, be great enough to bear the Branches, and the Boughs ; that is, that the *natural Subjects* of the Crown or State, bear a sufficient Proportion, to the *stranger Subjects*, that they govern. Therefore all States, that are liberal of Naturalization towards Strangers, are fit for *Empire*. For to think that an Handful of People, can, with the greatest Courage, and Policy in the

World, embrace too large Extent of Dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The *Spartans* were a nice People, in Point of Naturalization ; whereby, while they kept their Compass, they stood firm ; but when they did spread, and their Boughs were becoming too great for their Stem, they became a Windfall upon the sudden. Never any State was, in this Point, so open to receive *Strangers* into their Body, as were the *Romans*. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly ; for they grew to the greatest *Monarchy*. Their manner was, to grant Naturalization, (which they called *Jus Civitatis*) and to grant it in the highest Degree ; that is, Not only *Jus Commercii*, *Jus Connubii*, *Jus Hæreditatis* ; but also, *Jus Suffragii*, and *Jus Honorum*. And this, not to singular Persons alone ; but likewise to whole Families ; yea, to Cities, and sometimes to Nations. Add to this, their Custom of *Plantation of Colonies* ; whereby the Roman Plant was removed into the Soil of other Nations. And putting both Constitutions together, you will say, that it was not the *Romans* that spread upon the *World* ; but it was the *World*, that spread upon the *Romans* : And that was the sure Way of *Greatness*. I have marvelled sometimes at *Spain*, how they clasp and contain so large Dominions, with so few Natural *Spaniards* : But sure, the whole Compass of *Spain* is a very great Body of a Tree ; far above *Rome*, and *Sparta*, at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage, to Naturalize liberally ; yet they have

that, which is next to it; that is, *To employ, almost indifferently, all Nations, in their Militia of ordinary Soldiers*: yea, and sometimes in their *Highest Commands*. Nay, it seemeth at this instant, they are sensible of this want of Natives; as by the *Pragmatical Sanction*, now published, appeareth.

It is certain, that *sedentary*, and *within-door Arts*, and delicate Manufactures (that require rather the Finger, than the Arm) have, in their Nature, a Contrariety, to a Military Disposition. And generally, all Warlike People are a little idle; and love Danger better than Travail: Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore, it was great Advantage, in the ancient States of *Sparta, Athens, Rome*, and others, that they had the use of *Slaves*, which commonly did rid those Manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the *Christian Law*. That which cometh nearest to it, is, to leave those Arts chiefly to Strangers, (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received) and to contain, the principal Bulk of the vulgar Natives, within those three kinds; *Tillers* of the Ground; *Free Servants*; and *Handy-Crafts-Men*, of Strong, and Manly Arts, as Smiths, Masons, Carpenters, &c. Not reckoning Professed Soldiers.

But above all, for *Empire* and *Greatness*, it importeth most; That a Nation do profess Arms, as their principal Honour, Study, and Occupation. For the Things, which we formerly have spoken of, are but *Habilitations* towards Arms: And what is

Habilitation without Intention and Act? Romulus, after his death (as they report, or feign) sent a Present to the *Romans*; that, above all, they should intend Arms; and then, they should prove the greatest *Empire* of the World. The Fabrick of the State of *Sparta* was wholly (though not wisely) framed, and composed, to that Scope and End. The *Persians*, and *Macedonians*, had it for a flash. The *Gauls*, *Germans*, *Goths*, *Saxons*, *Normans*, and others, had it for a Time. The *Turks* have it, at this day, though in great Declination. Of Christian *Europe*, they that have it, are, in effect, only the *Spaniards*. But it is so plain, *That every Man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; that no Nation, which doth not directly profess Arms, may look to have *Greatness* fall into their Mouths. And, on the other side, it is a most certain Oracle of Time; That those States, that continue long in that Profession (as the *Romans* and *Turks* principally have done) do wonders. And those, that have professed Arms but for an Age, have notwithstanding, commonly, attained that *Greatness* in that Age, which maintained them long after, when their Profession and Exercise of Arms had grown to decay.

Incident to this Point is; For a State, to have those Laws or Customs, which may reach forth unto them, just Occasions (as may be pretended) of War. For there is that Justice imprinted in the Nature of Men, that they enter not upon Wars (whereof so

many Calamities do ensue) but upon some, at the least Specious, Grounds and Quarrels. The *Turk* hath at hand, for Cause of War, the Propagation of his Law or Sect; a Quarrel that he may always Command. The *Romans*, though they esteemed the Extending the Limits of their Empire, to be great Honour to their Generals, when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone, to begin a Warre. First therefore, let Nations, that pretend to *Greatness*, have this; That they be sensible of Wrongs, either upon Borderers, Merchants, or Politick Ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a Provocation. Secondly, let them be pressed, and ready, to give Aids and Succours, to their Confederates: As it ever was with the *Romans*: In so much, as if the Confederate had Leagues defensive with divers other States, and upon Invasion offered, did implore their Aids severally, yet the *Romans* would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none Other to have the Honour. As for the Wars, which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of Party, or tacit Conformity of Estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: As when the *Romans* made a War for the Liberty of *Grecia*: Or when the *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*, made Wars, to set up or pull down *Democracies*, and *Oligarchies*: Or when Wars were made by Foreigners, under the pretence of Justice, or Protection, to deliver the Subjects of others from Tyranny, and Oppression; And the like. Let it suffice, that no Estate expect to be

Great, that is not awake, upon any just Occasion of Arming.

No Body can be healthful without *Exercise*, neither Natural Body, nor Politick: And certainly, to a Kingdom or Estate, a Just and Honourable War is the true *Exercise*. A Civil War, indeed, is like the Heat of a Fever; but a Foreign War is like the Heat of *Exercise*, and serveth to keep the Body in Health: For in a Slothful Peace, both Courages will effeminate, and Manners Corrupt. But howsoever it be for Happiness, without all Question, for *Greatness*, it maketh, to be still, for the most Part, in Arms: And the Strength of a Veteran Army, (though it be a chargeable Business) always on Foot, is that which commonly giveth the Law; or at least the Reputation amongst all neighbour States; as may well be seen in *Spain*; which hath had, in one Part or other, a Veteran Army, almost continually, now by the Space of Six-score Years.

To be Master of the *Sea* is an Abridgement of a Monarchy. *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, of *Pompey's* Preparation against *Cæsar*, saith; *Consilium Pompeii planè Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui Mari potitur, eum Rerum potiri*. And, without doubt, *Pompey* had tired out *Cæsar*, if upon vain Confidence, he had not left that Way. We see the great Effects of Battles by *Sea*. The Battle of *Actium* decided the Empire of the World. The Battle of *Lepanto* arrested the Greatness of the *Turk*. There be many Examples, where *Sea-Fights* have

been Final to the War ; but this is, when Princes or States have set up their Rest, upon the Battles. But thus much is certain ; that he that commands the *Sea*, is at great liberty, and may take as much, and as little of the War, as he will. Whereas those, that be strongest by Land, are many times nevertheless in great Straights. Surely, at this Day, with us of *Europe*, the Vantage of Strength at *Sea* (which is one of the Principal Dowries of this Kingdom of *Great Britain*) is great ; Both because, most of the Kingdoms of *Europe*, are not merely Inland, but girt with the *Sea*, most part of their Compass ; and because, the Wealth of both *Indies* seems in great Part, but an accessary, to the Command of the *Seas*.

The *Wars of Latter Ages* seem to be made in the Dark, in respect of the Glory and Honour, which reflected upon Men, from the *Wars in Ancient Time*. There be now, for Martial Encouragement, some Degrees and Orders of Chivalry ; which, nevertheless, are conferred promiscuously, upon Soldiers, and no Soldiers ; and some Remembrance perhaps upon the Scutchion ; and some Hospitals for maimed Soldiers ; and such like Things. But in Ancient Times ; the *Trophies* erected upon the Place of the Victory ; the Funeral Laudatives and Monuments for those that died in the Wars ; the Crowns and Garlands personal ; the Stile of Emperor, which the Great Kings of the World after borrowed ; the Triumphs of the Generals upon their Return ; the great Donatives and Largeesses upon the Disbanding

of the Armies ; were Things able to enflame all Men's Courages. But above all, That of the Triumph, amongst the *Romans*, was not Pageants or Gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest Institutions, that ever was. For it contained three Things ; Honour to the General ; Riches to the Treasury out of the Spoils ; and Donatives to the Army. But that Honour, perhaps, were not fit for *Monarchies* ; except it be in the Person of the *Monarch* himself, or his Sons ; as it came to pass, in the Times of the *Roman Emperors*, who did impropriate the actual Triumphs to themselves, and their Sons, for such Wars, as they did achieve in Person : And left only, for Wars achieved by Subjects, some Triumphal Garments, and Ensigns, to the General.

To conclude ; No Man can, by *Care taking* (as the *Scripture* saith) *add a Cubit to his Stature* ; in this little Model of a *Man's Body* : But in the great Frame of *Kingdoms*, and *Commonwealths*, it is in the power of Princes, or Estates, to add Amplitude and *Greatness* to their *Kingdoms*. For by introducing such Ordinances, Constitutions, and Customs, as we have now touched, they may sow *Greatness* to their Posterity, and Succession. But these Things are commonly not observed, but left to take their Chance.

xxx. Of Regimen of Health.



HERE is a wisdom in this, beyond the Rules of *Physick*: A Man's own Observation, what he finds Good of, and what he finds Hurt of, is the best *Physick* to preserve Health. But it is a safer Conclusion to say; *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*; than this; *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For Strength of Nature in Youth passeth over many Excesses, which are owing a Man till his Age. Discern of the coming on of Years, and think not, to do the same Things still; for Age will not be defied. Beware of sudden Change in any great point of Diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a Secret, both in Nature, and State; that it is safer to change Many Things, than one. Examine thy Customs, of Diet, Sleep, Exercise, Apparel, and the like; and try in any Thing, thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any Inconvenience by the Change, thou come back to it again: For it is hard to distinguish, that which is generally held good, and wholesome, from that, which is good particularly, and fit for thine own Body. To be free minded, and cheerfully disposed, at Hours of Meat, and of Sleep, and of Exercise, is one of the

best Precepts of Long lasting. As for the Passions and Studies of the Mind; Avoid Envy; anxious Fears; Anger fretting inwards; subtile and knotty Inquisitions; Joys, and Exhilarations in Excess; Sadness not communicated. Entertain Hopes; Mirth rather than Joy; variety of Delights, rather than Surfeit of them; Wonder, and Admiration, and therefore Novelties; Studies that fill the Mind with Splendid and Illustrious Objects, as Histories, Fables, and Contemplations of Nature. If you fly *Physick* in *Health* altogether, it will be too strange for your Body, when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary Effect, when Sickness cometh. I commend rather, some Diet, for certain Seasons, than frequent Use of *Physick*, except it be grown into a Custom. For those Diets alter the Body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new Accident, in your Body, but ask Opinion of it. In *Sickness*, respect *Health* principally; and in *Health*, *Action*. For those that put their Bodies, to endure in *Health*, may in most *Sicknesses*, which are not very sharp, be cured only with Diet, and Tendering. *Celsus* could never have spoken it as a *Physician*, had he not been a Wise Man withal; when he giveth it, for one of the great precepts of Health and Lasting; that a Man do vary and interchange Contraries; but with an Inclination to the more benign Extreme: Use Fasting, and full Eating, but rather full Eating; Watching and Sleep, but rather Sleep; Sitting, and Exercise, but rather Exercise;

and the like. So shall Nature be cherished, and yet taught Masteries. *Physicians* are some of them so pleasing, and conformable to the Humour of the Patient, as they press not the true Cure of the Disease; and some other are so Regular, in proceeding according to Art, for the Disease, as they respect not sufficiently the Condition of the Patient. Take one of a Middle Temper; or if it may not be found in one Man, combine two of either sort: And forget not to call, as well the best acquainted with your Body, as the best reputed of for his Faculty.

XXXI. Of Suspicion.



SUSPICIONS amongst Thoughts, are like Bats amongst Birds, they ever fly by Twilight. Certainly, they are to be repressed, or, at the least, well guarded; For they cloud the Mind; they lose Friends; and they check with Business, whereby Business cannot go on, currently, and constantly. They dispose Kings to Tyranny, Husbands to Jealousy, Wise Men to Irresolution and Melancholy. They are Defects, not in the Heart, but in the Brain; for they take Place in the Stoutest Natures: As in the Example of *Henry the Seventh of England*: There was not a more *Suspicious* Man, nor a more Stout: And in such a Composition, they do small Hurt. For com-

monly they are not admitted, but with Examination, whether they be likely or no? But in fearful Natures, they gain Ground too fast. There is nothing makes a Man *Suspect* much, more than to Know little: And therefore Men should remedy *Suspicion*, by procuring to know more, and not to keep their *Suspicions* in Smother. What would Men have? Do they think, those they employ and deal with, are Saints? Do they not think, they will have their own Ends, and be truer to Themselves, than to them? Therefore, there is no better Way to moderate *Suspicions*, than to account upon such *Suspicions* as true, and yet to bridle them, as false. For so far, a Man ought to make use of *Suspicions*, as to provide, as if that should be true, that he *Suspects*, yet it may do him no Hurt. *Suspicions*, that the Mind, of itself, gathers, are but Buzzes; but *Suspicions*, that are artificially nourished, and put into Men's Heads, by the Tales, and Whisperings of others, have Stings. Certainly, the best Mean, to clear the Way, in this same Wood of *Suspicions*, is frankly to communicate them, with the Party, that he *Suspects*: For thereby, he shall be sure, to know more of the Truth of them, than he did before; and withal, shall make that Party more circumspect, not to give further Cause of *Suspicion*. But this would not be done to Men of base Natures: For they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The *Italian* says; *Sospetto licentia fede*: As if *Suspicion* did give a Passport to Faith: But it ought rather to kindle it, to discharge itself.

XXXII. Of Discourse.



OME in their *Discourse*, desire rather Commendation of Wit, in being able to hold all Arguments, than of Judgment, in discerning what is True : As if it were a Praise, to know what might be Said, and not what should be Thought. Some have certain Common Places, and Themes, wherein they are good, and want Variety : Which kind of Poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived ridiculous. The honourablest part of Talk, is to give the Occasion ; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else ; for then a Man leads the Dance. It is good, in *Discourse*, and Speech of Conversation, to vary, and intermingle Speech, of the present Occasion with Arguments ; Tales with Reasons ; asking of Questions, with telling of Opinions ; and Jest with Earnest : For it is a dull Thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade, any Thing too far. As for Jest, there be certain Things, which ought to be privileged from it ; namely Religion, Matters of State, Great Persons, any Man's present Business of Importance, and any Case that deserveth Pity. Yet there be some, that think their Wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant and to the quick : That is a vein, which would be bridled ;

Parce Puer stimulis, et fortius utere Loris.

And generally, Men ought to find the difference between Saltnefs and Bitternefs. Certainly, he that hath a fatirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his Wit, so he had need be afraid of others' Memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much; but especially, if he apply his Questions, to the Skill of the Persons, whom he asketh: For he shall give them occasion, to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather Knowledge. But let his Questions not be troublesome; for that is fit for a Poser. And let him be sure, to leave other Men their Turns to speak. Nay, if there be any, that would reign, and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on; as Musicians use to do, with those that dance too long Galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge, of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time, to know that you know not. Speech of a Man's Self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew One, was wont to say, in scorn; *He must needs be a Wise Man, he speaks so much of Himself*: And there is but one Case, wherein a Man may commend himself, with good Grace; and that is in commending Virtue in another; especially, if it be such a Virtue, whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of Touch towards others, should be sparingly used: For *Discourse* ought to be as a Field, without coming home to any Man. I knew two *Noblemen*, of the West

Part of *England*; whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal Cheqr in his House: The other, would ask of those, that had been at the other's Table; *Tell truly, was there never a Flout or dry Blow given?* to which the Guest would answer; *Such and such a Thing passed:* The Lord would say; *I thought he would mar a good Dinner.* *Discretion of Speech*, is more than *Eloquence*; and to speak agreeably to him, with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good Words, or in good Order. A good continued Speech, without a good Speech of Interlocution, shews Slowness: And a good Reply, or second Speech, without a good settled Speech, sheweth Shallowness and Weakness. As we see in Beasts, that those that are weakest in the Course, are yet nimblest in the Turn: As it is betwixt the Greyhound, and the Hare. To use too many Circumstances, ere one come to the Matter, is wearisome; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. Of Plantations.



PLANTATIONS are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical Works. When the World was young, it begat more Children; but now it is old, it begets fewer: For I may justly account new *Plantations* to be the Children of former Kingdoms. I like a

Plantation in a pure Soil ; that is, where People are not *displanted*, to the end, to *plant* in others. For else, it is rather an Extirpation than a *Plantation*. *Planting* of Countries is like *Planting* of Woods ; for you must make account, to lose almost Twenty Years' Profit, and expect your Recompense, in the end. For the principal Thing, that hath been the Destruction of most *Plantations*, hath been the base, and hasty Drawing of Profit, in the first Years. It is true, Speedy Profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand, with the Good of the *Plantation*, but no farther. It is a shameful and unblest Thing, to take the Scum of People, and wicked condemned Men, to be the People with whom you *Plant* : And not only so, but it spoileth the *Plantation*, For they will ever live like Rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do Mischief, and spend Victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their Country, to the Discredit of the *Plantation*. The People wherewith you *Plant*, ought to be Gardeners, Ploughmen, Labourers, Smiths, Carpenters, Joiners, Fishermen, Fowlers, with some few Apothecaries, Surgeons, Cooks, and Bakers. In a Country of *Plantation*, first look about, what kind of Victual the Country yields of itself, to hand : As Chesnuts, Walnuts, Pineapples, Olives, Dates, Plums, Cherries, Wild Honey, and the like : and make use of them. Then consider, what Victual or Esculent Things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year ; as Parsnips, Carrots, Turnips, Onions, Radish, Ar-

tichokes of Jerufalem, Maize, and the like. For Wheat, Barley, and Oats, they ask too much Labour: But with Pease and Beans, you may begin; both because they ask less Labour, and because they serve for Meat, as well as for Bread. And of Rice likewise cometh a great Increase, and it is a kind of Meat.

• Above all, there ought to be brought Store of Biscuit, Oatmeal, Flour, Meal, and the like, in the beginning, till Bread may be had. For Beasts, or Birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to Diseases, and multiply fastest: as Swine, Goats, Cocks, Hens, Turkeys, Geese, House Doves, and the like. The Victual in *Plantations*, ought to be expended, almost as in a besieged Town; that is, with certain Allowance. And let the Main Part of the Ground employed to Gardens or Corn, be to a common Stock; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion; besides some Spots of Ground, that any particular Person will manure for his own Private use. Consider likewise, what Commodities the Soil, where the *Plantation* is, doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the Charge of the *Plantation*: So it be not, as was said, to the untimely Prejudice, of the main Business: as it hath fared with *Tobacco* in *Virginia*. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much; and therefore, Timber is fit to be one. If there be Iron Ore, and Streams whereupon to set the Mills; Iron is a brave Commodity, where Wood aboundeth. Making of Bay Salt, if the Climate be proper for it, would be put in

Experience. Growing Silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and Tar, where store of Firs and Pines are, will not fail. So Drugs, and Sweet Woods, where they are, cannot but yield great Profit. Soap Ashes likewise, and other Things, that may be thought of. But moil not too much under Ground: For the Hope of Mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the *Planters* lazy, in other Things. For Government, let it be in the Hands of one, assisted with some Counsel: and let them have Commission, to exercise martial Laws, with some Limitation. And above all, let Men make that profit of being in the Wilderness, as they have God always, and his Service before their Eyes. Let not the Government of the *Plantation*, depend upon too many Counsellors, and Undertakers, in the Country that *Planteth*, but upon a temperate Number; and let those be rather Noblemen, and Gentlemen, than Merchants: For they look ever to the present Gain. Let there be Freedoms from Custom, till the *Plantation* be of Strength: And not only Freedom from Custom, but Freedom to carry their Commodities, where they may make their Best of them, except there be some special Cause of Caution. Cram not in People, by sending too fast, Company after Company; but rather hearken how they waste, and send Supplies proportionably; but so, as the Number may live well, in the *Plantation*, and not by Surcharge be in Penury. It hath been a great endangering, to the Health of some *Plantations*, that they

have built along the Sea, and Rivers, in Marish and unwholesome Grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid Carriage, and other like Discommodities, yet build still, rather upwards, from the streams, than along. It concerneth likewise, the Health of the *Plantation*, that they have good Store of Salt with them, that they may use it, in their Victuals, when it shall be necessary. If you *Plant*, where Savages are, do not only entertain them with Trifles, and Gingles; but use them justly, and graciously, with sufficient Guard nevertheless: and do not win their favour, by helping them to invade their Enemies, but for their Defence it is not amiss: And send oft of them, over to the Country, that *Plants*, that they may see a better Condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the *Plantation* grows to Strength, then it is time to *Plant* with Women, as well as with Men; that the *Plantation* may spread into Generations, and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sin-fullest Thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a *Plantation*, once in Forwardness: For besides the Dishonour, it is the Guiltiness of Blood, of many commiserable Persons.

XXXVI. Of Riches.



CANNOT call *Riches* better, than the Baggage of Virtue. The *Roman* Word is better, *Impedimenta*. For as the Baggage is to an Army, so is *Riches* to

Virtue. It cannot be spared, nor left behind, but it hindereth the March ; yea, and the care of it, sometimes, loseth or disturbeth the Victory : Of great *Riches*, there is no real Use, except it be in the Distribution ; the rest is but Conceit. So saith *Solomon* ; *Where much is, there are Many to consume it ; and what hath the Owner, but the Sight of it, with his Eyes ?* The personal Fruition in any Man, cannot reach to feel Great *Riches* : There is a Custody of them ; or a Power of Dole and Donative of them ; or a Fame of them ; but no solid Use to the Owner. Do you not see, what feigned Prices are set upon little Stones, and Rarities ? and what Works of Ostentation, are undertaken, because there might seem to be, some Use of great *Riches* ? But then you will say, they may be of use, to buy Men out of Dangers or Troubles. As *Solomon* saith ; *Riches are as a strong Hold, in the Imagination of the Rich Man*. But this is excellently expressed, that it is in *Imagination*, and not always in *Fact*. For certainly great *Riches* have sold more Men, than they have bought out. Seek not Proud *Riches*, but such as thou mayest get justly,

use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor friarly Contempt of them. But distinguish, as *Cicero* saith well of *Rabirius Posthumus*; *In studio rei amplificandæ, apparebat, non Avaritiæ prædæ, sed Instrumentum Bonitati quæri*. Harken also to *Solomon*, and beware of hasty Gathering of *Riches*: *Qui festinat ad Divitias, non erit insons*. The Poets feign that when *Plutus* (which is *Riches*,) is sent from *Jupiter*, he limps and goes slowly; but when he is sent from *Pluto*, he runs, and is swift of Foot. Meaning, that *Riches* gotten by good Means, and just Labour, pace slowly; but when they come by the death of others, (as by the Course of Inheritance, Testaments, and the like,) they come tumbling upon a Man. But it might be applied likewise to *Pluto*, taking him for the Devil. For when *Riches* come from the Devil, (as by Fraud, and Oppression, and unjust Means,) they come upon speed. The *Ways to enrich* are many, and most of them foul. *Parsimony* is one of the best, and yet is not innocent: for it withholdeth Men, from Works of Liberality, and Charity. The *Improvement of the Ground* is the most Natural obtaining of *Riches*; for it is our great Mother's Blessing, the Earth's; but it is slow. And yet, where Men of great wealth, do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth *Riches* exceedingly. I knew a Nobleman in *England*, that had the greatest Audits, of any Man in my Time: a great Grazier, a great Sheep-Master, a great Timber-Man, a great Collier, a great Corn-

Master, a great Lead-Man, and so of Iron, and a Number of the like Points of Husbandry. So as the Earth seemed a Sea to him, in respect of the perpetual Importation. It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little *Riches*, and very easily to great *Riches*. For when a Man's Stock is come to that, that he can expect the Prime of Markets, and overcome those Bargains, which for their Greatness are few Men's Money, and be Partner in the Industries of Younger Men, he cannot but increase mainly. The *Gains* of ordinary *Trades* and *Vocations*, are honest; and furthered by two things, chiefly: By Diligence; and by a good Name, for good and fair dealing. But the *Gains* of *Bargains*, are of a more doubtful Nature; when Men shall wait upon others' Necessity, broke by Servants and Instruments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better Chapmen, and the like Practices, which are crafty and naught. As for the *chopping of Bargains*, when a Man buys, not to hold, but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the Seller, and upon the Buyer. *Sharings* do greatly *enrich*, if the Hands be well chosen, that are trusted. *Usury* is the certainest Means of Gain, though one of the worst; as that, whereby a Man doth eat his Bread; *In sudore vultus alieni*: And besides, doth Plough upon Sundays. But yet certain though it be, it hath Flaws; for that the Scriveners and Brokers, do value unsound Men, to serve their own Turn. The *Fortune*, in being

the First in an *Invention*, or in a *Privilege*, doth cause sometimes a wonderful Overgrowth in *Riches*; as it was with the first Sugar Man, in the *Canaries*: Therefore, if a Man can play the true *Logician*, to have as well Judgment, as Invention, he may do great Matters, especially if the Times be fit. He that resteth upon *Gains certain*, shall hardly grow to great *Riches*: And he that puts all upon *Adventures*, doth often times break, and come to Poverty: It is good therefore, to guard *Adventures* with *Certainties*, that may uphold losses. *Monopolies*, and *Coemption* of *Wares* for *Resale*, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially, if the Party have intelligence, what Things are like to come into Request, and so store himself before hand. *Riches* gotten by *Service*, though it be of the best Rise, yet when they are gotten by Flattery, feeding Humours, and other servile Conditions, they may be placed amongst the Worst. As for Fishing for *Testaments* and *Executorships* (as *Tacitus* saith of *Seneca*; *Testamenta et Orbos, tanquam indagine capi*;) It is yet worse; by how much Men submit themselves, to Meaner Persons, then in *Service*. Believe not much them, that seem to despise *Riches*: For they despise them, that despair of them; and none worse, when they come to them. Be not Penny-wise; *Riches* have Wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their *Riches*, either to their Kindred; or to the Publick: and moderate Portions prosper best

in both. A great State left to an Heir, is as a Lure to all the Birds of Prey round about, to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in Years and Judgment. Likewise glorious Gifts and Foundations, are like *Sacrifices without Salt*; and but the *painted Sepulchres of Alms*, which soon will putrify, and corrupt inwardly. Therefore, Measure not thine Advancements by Quantity, but Frame them by Measure; and defer not Charities till Death: For certainly, if a Man weigh it rightly, he that doth so, is rather liberal of an other Man's, than of his Own.

xxxv. Of Prophecies.



MEAN not to speak of *Divine Prophecies*; nor of Heathen Oracles; nor of natural Predictions; but only of *Prophecies*, that have been of certain Memory, and from hidden Causes. Saith the *Pythoniſſa* to *Saul*; *To-morrow thou and thy ſon ſhall be with me.* *Homer* hath theſe Verſes.

*At Domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati Natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis:*

A *Prophecy*, as it ſeems, of the *Roman Empire*. *Seneca* the *Tragedian* hath theſe Verſes.

————— *Venient Annis
Secula ſeris, quibus Oceanus*

*Vincula Rerum laxet, et ingens
Pateat Tellus, Typhysque novos
Detegat Orbes; nec fit Terris
Ultima Thule:*

A *Prophecy* of the Discovery of *America*. The Daughter of *Polycrates* dreamed, that *Jupiter* bathed her Father, and *Apollo* anointed him: And it came to pass, that he was crucified in an open Place, where the Sun made his Body run with Sweat, and the Rain washed it. *Philip* of *Macedon* dreamed, he sealed up his Wife's Belly: Whereby he did expound it, that his Wife should be barren: But *Aristander* the Soothsayer, told him, his Wife was with Child, because Men do not use to Seal Vessels that are empty. A Phantasm, that appeared to *M. Brutus* in his Tent, said to him; *Philippis iterum me videbis*. *Tiberius* said to *Galba*; *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis Imperium*. In *Vespasian's* Time, there went a *Prophecy* in the East; That those that should come forth of *Judea*, should reign over the World: which though it may be was meant of our *Saviour*, yet *Tacitus* expounds it of *Vespasian*. *Domitian* dreamed, the Night before he was slain, that a Golden Head was growing out of the Nape of his Neck: And indeed, the Succession that followed him, for many years, made Golden Times. *Henry* the Sixth of *England* said of *Henry* the Seventh, when he was a Lad, and gave him Water; *This is the Lad, that shall enjoy the Crown, for which we strive*. When

I was in *France*, I heard from one *Dr. Pena*, that the *Q. Mother*, who was given to curious Arts, caused the *King* her Husband's Nativity, to be calculated, under a false Name; and the Astrologer gave a Judgment, that he should be killed in a Duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her Husband to be above Challenges and Duels: but he was slain, upon a Course at Tilt, the Splinters of the Staff of *Montgomery*, going in at his Beaver. The trivial *Prophecy*, which I heard, when I was a Child, and *Queen Elizabeth* was in the Flower of her Years, was;

*When Hemp is spun ;
England's done.*

Whereby, it was generally conceived, that after the *Princes* had reigned, which had the principal *Letters*, of that Word *Hemp*, (which were *Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth*), *England* should come to utter Confusion. Which, thanks be to God, is verified only, in the Change of the Name: for that the King's Style is now no more of *England*, but of *Britain*. There was also another *Prophecy*, before the year of 88, which I do not well understand.

*There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh, and the May,
The Black Fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build Houses of Lime and Stone,
For after Wars shall you have None.*

It was generally conceived, to be meant of the Spanish Fleet, that came in 88. For that the *King of Spain's* Surname, as they say, is *Norway*. The Prediction of *Regiomontanus* ;

Octogefimus octavus mirabilis Annus ;

Was thought likewise accomplished, in the sending of that great Fleet, being the greatest in Strength, though not in Number, of all that ever swam upon the Sea. As for *Cleon's* Dream, I think it was a Jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long Dragon ; and it was expounded of a Maker of Sauſages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind ; eſpecially if you include *Dreams*, and *Predictions* of *Aſtrology*. But I have ſet down theſe few only of certain Credit, for example. My Judgment is, that they ought all to be *deſpiſed* ; and ought to ſerve, but for Winter Talk, by the Fire-ſide. Though when I ſay *deſpiſed*, I mean it as for Belief : For otherwiſe, the ſpreading or publiſhing of them, is in no ſort to be *deſpiſed*. For they have done much Miſchief : and I ſee many ſevere Laws made to ſuppreſs them. That, that hath given them Grace, and ſome Credit, conſiſteth in three Things. Firſt, that Men mark, when they hit, and never mark, when they miſs : As they do, generally, alſo of *Dreams*. The ſecond is, that probable Conjectures, or obſcure Traditions, many times, turn themſelves into *Prophecies* : While the Nature of Man, which coveteth *Divination*, thinks it no

Peril to foretell that, which indeed they do but collect. As that of *Seneca's* Verse. For so much was then subject to Demonstration, that the Globe of the Earth, had great Parts beyond the Atlantic; which might be probably conceived, not to be all Sea: And adding thereto, the Tradition in *Plato's Timeus*, and his *Atlanticus*, it might encourage one, to turn it to a *Prediction*. The third, and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in Number, have been Impostures, and by idle and crafty Brains, merely contrived and feigned, after the Event past.

XXXVI. Of Ambition.



AMBITION is like *Choler*; which is a Humour, that maketh Men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have its Way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So *Ambitious Men*, if they find the way open for their Rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be check't in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon Men and Matters, with an evil Eye; and are best pleased, when Things go backward; which is the worst Property, in a Servant of a Prince or State. Therefore it is good for

Princes, if they use *Ambitious Men*, to handle it so, as they be still progressive, and not retrograde: which because it cannot be without Inconvenience, it is good not to use such Natures at all. For if they rise not with their Service, they will take Order to make their Service fall with them. But since we have said, it were good not to use Men of *Ambitious Natures*, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak, in what Cases, they are of necessity. Good Commanders in the Wars, must be taken, be they never so *Ambitious*: For the Use of their Service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a Soldier without *Ambition*, is to pull off his Spurs. There is also great use of *Ambitious Men*, in being Screens to Princes, in Matters of Danger and Envy: for no Man will take that Part, except he be like a seal'd Dove, that mounts and mounts, because he cannot see about him. There is Use also of *Ambitious Men*, in pulling down the Greatness of any Subject that over-tops: As *Tiberius* used *Macro* in the Pulling down of *Sejanus*. Since therefore they must be used, in such Cases, there resteth to speak, how they are to be bridled, that they may be less *dangerous*. There is less *Danger* of them, if they be of mean Birth, than if they be Noble: And if they be rather harsh of Nature, than gracious and popular: And if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning, and fortified in their Greatness. It is counted by some, a weakness in Princes, to have *Favourites*: but it is, of all others, the best Remedy against *Ambitious Great-Ones*. For when the way

of Pleasuring and Displeasuring, lieth by the *Favourite*, it is impossible, any other should be *over-great*. Another means to curb them, is to balance them by others, as proud as they. But then, there must be some middle Counsellors, to keep Things steady : for without that Ballast, the Ship will roll too much. At the least, a Prince may animate and inure some meaner Persons, to be, as it were, Scourges to *Ambitious Men*. As for the having of them obnoxious to Ruin, if they be of fearful Natures, it may do well : But if they be stout, and daring, it may precipitate their Designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the Affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only Way is, the interchange continually of Favours, and Disgraces ; whereby they may not know, what to expect ; and be, as it were, in a Wood. Of *Ambitions*, it is less harmfull, the *Ambition* to prevail in great Things, than that other, to appear in every thing ; for that breeds Confusion, and mars Business. But yet, it is less danger, to have an *Ambitious* Man, stirring in Business, than Great in Dependencies. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able Men, hath a great Task ; but that is ever good for the Publick. But he that plots, to be the only Figure amongst Ciphers, is the decay of a whole Age. *Honour* hath three Things in it : The Vantage Ground to do good : The Approach to Kings, and principal Persons : And the Raising of a Man's own Fortunes. He that hath the best of these Intentions,

when he aspireth, is an honest Man: And that Prince, that can discern of these Intentions, in another that aspireth, is a wise Prince. Generally, let Princes and States choose such Ministers as are more sensible of Duty, than of Rising; and such as love Business rather upon Conscience, than upon Bravery: And let them Discern a busy Nature, from a willing Mind.

XXXVII. Of Masques and Triumphs.



THESE Things are but Toys, to come amongst such serious Observations. But yet, since Princes will have such Things, it is better, they should be graced with Elegancy, than daubed with Cost. *Dancing to Song*, is a thing of great State, and Pleasure. I understand it, that the Song be in Quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken Musick: And the Ditty fitted to the Device. *Acting in Song*, especially in *Dialogues*, hath an extreme good Grace: I say *acting*, not *dancing*, (for that is a mean and vulgar Thing;) and the *Voices* of the *Dialogue*, would be strong and manly, (a Base, and a Tenor; no Treble;) and the *Ditty* high and tragical; not nice or dainty. *Several Quires*, placed one over against another, and taking the Voice by Catches, *Anthem*-wise, give

great Pleasure. *Turning Dances* into *Figure*, is a childish Curiosity. And generally, let it be noted, that those Things, which I here set down, are such, as do naturally take the Sense, and not respect petty Wonderments. It is true, the *Alterations of Scenes*, so it be quietly, and without Noise, are Things of great Beauty, and Pleasure; for they feed and relieve the Eye, before it be full of the same Object. Let the *Scenes* abound with *Light*, specially *coloured* and *varied*: And let the Masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the *Scene*, have some Motions, upon the *Scene* itself, before their Coming down; for it draws the Eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure, to desire to see that, it cannot perfectly discern. Let the *Songs* be *loud*, and *cheerful*, and not *Chirpings*, or *Pulings*. Let the *Musick* likewise be *sharp*, and *loud*, and *well placed*. The *Colours*, that shew best by Candlelight, are; White, Carnation, and a kind of Sea-water Green; and *Ouches*, or *Spangs*, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory. As for *rich Embroidery*, it is lost, and not discerned. Let the *Suits* of the *Masquers* be Graceful, and such as become the Person, when the Vizors are off: Not after Examples of known Attires; Turks, Soldiers, Mariners, and the like. Let *Anti-masques* not be long; they have been commonly of Fools, Satyrs, Baboons, Wild Men, Anticks, Beasts, Sprites, Witches, Ethiopes, Pigmies, Turquets, Nymphs, Rustics, Cupids, Statues moving, and the like. As for *Angels*, it is not comical

enough, to put them in *Anti-masques*; and any Thing that is hideous, as Devils, Giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the *Musick* of them, be recreative, and with some strange Changes. Some *Sweet Odours*, suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a Company, as there is Steam and Heat, Things of great Pleasure; and Refreshment. *Double Masques*, one of Men, another of Ladies, addeth State and Variety. But all is nothing, except the *Room* be kept clear, and neat.

For *Justs*, and *Tournies*, and *Barriers*; the Glories of them are chiefly in the Chariots, wherein the Challengers make their Entry; especially if they be drawn with strange Beasts; as Lions, Bears, Camels, and the like: or in the Devices of their Entrance; or in the Bravery of their Liveries; or in the Goodly Furniture of their Horses and Armour. But enough of these Toys.

XXXVIII. Of Nature in Men.



NATURE is often hidden; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh *Nature* more violent in the Return: Doctrine and Discourse maketh *Nature* less importune: But Custom only doth alter and subdue *Nature*. He that seeketh Victory over his *Nature*, let him not set himself too great, nor

small Tasks : For the first will make him dejected by often Failings ; and the second will make him a small Proceeder, though by often Prevailings. And at the first, let him practise with Helps, as Swimmers do with Bladders, or Rushes : But after a time, let him practise with Disadvantages, as Dancers do with thick Shoes. For it breeds great Perfection, if the Practice be harder than the Use. Where *Nature* is mighty, and therefore the Victory hard, the Degrees had need be ; first to stay and arrest *Nature* in time ; like to him, that would say over the four-and-twenty Letters, when he was angry : Then to go less in quantity ; as if one should, in forbearing Wine, come from drinking Healths, to a draught at a Meal : And lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a Man have the Fortitude, and Resolution, to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best ;

*Optimus ille Animi Vindex, lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.*

Neither is the ancient Rule amiss, to bend *Nature* as a Wand, to a contrary Extreme, whereby to set it right : Understanding it, where the contrary Extreme is no Vice. Let not a man force a Habit upon himself, with a perpetual Continuance, but with some Intermision. For both the Pause re-inforceth the new Onset ; and if a Man, that is not perfect, be ever in Practice, he shall as well practise his Errors, as his Abilities ; and induce

one Habit of both: and there is no Means to help this, but by feasonable Intermiffions. But let not a man trust his Victory over his *Nature* too far; for *Nature* will lie buried a great Time, and yet revive, upon the Occafion or Temptation. Like as it was with *Æfop's Damsel*, turned from a Cat to a Woman, who fat very demurely, at the Board's End, till a Moufe ran before her. Therefore let a Man, either avoid the Occafion altogether; or put himfelf often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A Man's *Nature* is beft perceived in Privateneſs, for there is no Affectation; in Paſſion, for that putteth a Man out of his Precepts; and in a new Caſe or Experiment, for there Cuſtom leaveth him. They are happy Men, whoſe *Natures* fort with their Vocations; otherwiſe they may ſay, *Multùm Incola fuit Anima mea*: when they converſe in thoſe Things, they do not Affect. In Studies, whatſoever a Man commandeth upon himſelf, let him ſet Hours for it: But whatſoever is agreeable to his *Nature*, let him take no Care, for any ſet Times: For his Thoughts will fly to it of themſelves; ſo as the Spaces of other Buſineſs, or Studies, will ſuffice. A Man's *Nature* runs either to Herbs, or Weeds; therefore let him ſeaſonably water the One, and deſtroy the Other.

XXXIX. Of Custom and Education.



ENS Thoughts are much according to their Inclination : Their Discourse and Speeches according to their Learning, and infused Opinions ; but their Deeds

are after as they have been *accustomed*. And therefore, as *Machiavel* well noteth (though in an evil favoured Instance) there is no trusting to the Force of Nature, nor to the Bravery of Words ; except it be corroborate by *Custom*. His Instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate Conspiracy, a Man should not rest upon the Fierceness of any man's Nature, or his resolute Undertakings ; but take such a one, as hath had his Hands formerly in Blood. But *Machiavel* knew not of a *Friar Clement*, nor a *Ravillac*, nor a *Jaureguy*, nor a *Baltazar Gerard* ; yet his Rule holdeth still, that Nature, nor the Engagement of Words, are not so forcible, as *Custom*. Only Superstition is now so well advanced, that Men of the first Blood, are as Firm, as Butchers by Occupation : And votary Resolution is made equipollent to *Custom*, even in matter of Blood. In other Things, the Predominancy of Custom is every where visible ; in so much, as a Man would wonder, to hear Men profess, protest,

engage, give great Words, and then do just as they have done before: As if they were dead Images, and Engines moved only by the wheels of *Custom*. We see also the Reign or Tyranny of *Custom*, what it is. The *Indians* (I mean the Sect of their Wise Men) lay themselves quietly upon a Stack of Wood, and so Sacrifice themselves by Fire. Nay the Wives strive to be burned with the Corpses of their Husbands. The Lads of *Sparta*, of ancient Time, were wont to be scourged upon the Altar of *Diana*, without so much as Quecking. I remember in the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* time of *England*, an *Irish Rebel* condemned, put up a Petition to the *Deputy*, that he might be hanged in a Withe, and not in a Halter, because it had been so used, with former *Rebels*. There be *Monks* in *Russia*, for Penance, that will sit a whole Night, in a Vessel of Water, till they be engaged with hard Ice. Many Examples may be put, of the Force of *Custom*, both upon Mind, and Body. Therefore, since Custom is the principal Magistrate of Man's Life; let Men by all Means endeavour to obtain good *Customs*. Certainly *Custom* is most perfect, when it beginneth in young Years: This we call *Education*; which is, in Effect, but an *early Custom*. So we see, in Languages the Tongue is more Pliant to all Expressions and Sounds, the Joints are more Supple to all Feats of Activity, and Motions, in Youth than afterwards. For it is true, that late Learners, cannot so well take the Ply; except it be in some Minds, that have not

suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual Amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the Force of *Custom* simple and separate, be great; the Force of *Custom* copulate, and conjoined, and collegiate, is far greater. For there Example teacheth; Company comforteth, Emulation quickeneth; Glory raiseth: So as in such Places the Force of *Custom* is in his Exaltation. Certainly, the great Multiplication of Virtues upon human Nature, resteth upon Societies well ordained, and disciplined. For Commonwealths, and good Governments, do nourish Virtue grown, but do not much mend the Seeds. But the Misery is, that the most effectual Means, are now applied to the Ends, least to be desired.

XL. Of Fortune.



T cannot be denied, but outward Accidents conduce much to *Fortune*: Favour, Opportunity, Death of Others, Occasion fitting Virtue. But chiefly, the Mould of a Man's *Fortune* is in his own hands. *Faber quisque Fortunæ suæ*; saith the Poet. And the most Frequent of external Causes is, that the Folly of one Man is the *Fortune* of Another. For no man prospers so suddenly, as by other's Errors. *Serpens nisi Serpentem comederit non fit Draco.*

Overt, and apparent Virtues bring forth Praise ; but there be secret and hidden Virtues, that bring Forth *Fortune*. Certain Deliveries of a Man's Self, which have no Name. The Spanish Name, *Desemboltura*, partly expresseth them : When there be not Stonds, nor Restiveness in a Man's Nature ; but that the wheels of his Mind keep way, with the wheels of his *Fortune*. For so *Livy* (after he had described *Cato Major*, in these words ; *In illo viro, tantum Robur Corporis et Animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, Fortunam sibi facturum videretur ;*) falleth upon that, that he had, *versatile Ingenium*. Therefore, if a Man look sharply, and attentively, he shall see *Fortune* : For though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The Way of *Fortune* is like the *Milky Way* in the Sky ; which is a Meeting or Knot, of a Number of small Stars ; not Seen asunder, but giving Light together. So are there, a Number of little, and scarce discerned Virtues, or rather Faculties and Customs, that make Men *Fortunate*. The *Italians* note some of them, such as a Man would little think. When they speak of one, that cannot do amiss, they will throw in, into his other Conditions, that he hath, *Poco di Matto*. And certainly, there be not two more *Fortunate* Properties ; than to have a *little* of the *Fool* ; and not *too much* of the *Honest*. Therefore, extreme Lovers of their Country, or Masters, were never *Fortunate*, neither can they be. For when a Man placeth his Thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own Way. A hasty *Fortune*

maketh an Enterpriser, and Remover (the *French* hath it better; *Entreprenant*, or *Remuant*). But the exercised *Fortune* maketh the able Man. *Fortune* is to be honoured, and respected, and it be but for her Daughters, *Confidence* and *Reputation*. For those two Felicity breedeth: The first within a Man's Self; the latter, in others towards Him. All wise Men, to decline the Envy of their own Virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and *Fortune*; for so they may the better assume them: And besides, it is Greatness in a Man, to be the Care of the Higher Powers. So *Cæsar* said to the Pilot in the Tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et Fortunam ejus*. So *Sylla* chose the Name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those, that ascribe openly too much to their own Wisdom, and Policy, end *Unfortunate*. It is written, that *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, after he had, in the Account he gave to the State, of his Government, often interlaced this Speech; *And in this Fortune had no Part* never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly, there be, whose *Fortunes* are like *Homer's Verses*, that have a Slide, and easiness, more than the Verses of other Poets: As *Plutarch* saith of *Timoleon's Fortune*, in respect of that of *Agefilas*, or *Epaminondas*. And that this should be, no doubt it is much, in a Man's Self.

XLI. Of Usury.



ANY have made witty Invectives against *Usury*. They say, that it is Pity, the Devil should have God's Part, which is the *Tithe*. That the *Usurer* is the greatest Sabbath Breaker, because his Plough goeth every Sunday. That the *Usurer* is the *Drone*, that *Virgil* speaketh of :

Ignavum Fucos Pecus à præsepibus arcent.

That the *Usurer* breaketh the first Law, that was made for Mankind, after the Fall ; which was, *In Sudore Vultûs tui comedes Panem tuum* ; Not, *In Sudore Vultûs alieni*. That *Usurers* should have Orange-tawny Bonnets, because they do *Judaize*. That it is against Nature, for *Money* to beget *Money* ; and the like. I say this only, that *Usury* is a *Concessum propter Duritiem Cordis* : For since there must be borrowing and lending, and Men are so hard of Heart, as they will not lend freely, *Usury* must be permitted. Some Others have made suspicious, and cunning Propositions, of Banks, Discovery of Men's Estates, and other Inventions. But few have spoken of *Usury* usefully. It is good to set before us, the *Incommodities*, and *Commodities* of *Usury* ; that the Good may be, either weighed out,

or culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth, to that which is better, we meet not, with that which is worse.

The *Discommodities* of *Usury* are: First, that it makes fewer Merchants. For were it not, for this lazy Trade of *Usury*, Money would not lie still, but would, in great Part, be employed upon Merchandizing; which is the *Vena Porta* of Wealth in a State. The Second, that it makes poor Merchants. For as a Farmer cannot husband his Ground so well, if he sit at a great Rent; so the Merchant cannot drive his Trade so well, if he sit at great *Usury*. The Third is incident to the other two; and that is, the Decay of Customs of Kings or States, which ebb or flow with Merchandizing. The Fourth, that it bringeth the Treasure of a Realm or State, into a few Hands. For the *Usurer* being at Certainties, and others at Uncertainties, at the end of the Game; most of the Money will be in the Box; and ever a State flourisheth, when Wealth is more equally spread. The Fifth, that it beats down the Price of Land: For the Employment of Money is chiefly, either Merchandizing, or Purchasing; and *Usury* Waylays both. The Sixth, that it doth dull and damp all Industries, Improvements, and new Inventions, wherein Money would be stirring, if it were not for this Slug. The Last, that it is the Canker and Ruin of many Men's Estates; which in process of Time breeds a public Poverty.

On the other side, the *Commodities* of *Usury* are.

First, that howsoever *Usury* in some respect hindreth Merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it: For it is certain, that the greatest Part of Trade, is driven by young Merchants, upon borrowing at Interest: So as if the *Usurer*, either call in, or keep back his Money, there will ensue presently a great Stand of Trade. The Second is, That were it not, for this easy borrowing upon *Interest*, Men's Necessities would draw upon them, a most sudden undoing; in that they would be forced to sell their Means (be it Lands or Goods) far under Foot; and so, whereas *Usury* doth but gnaw upon them, bad Markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging, or pawning, it will little mend the matter; for either Men will not take Pawns without *Use*; or if they do, they will look precisely for the Forfeiture. I remember a cruel moneyed Man, in the Country, that would say; the Devil take this *Usury*, it keeps us from Forfeitures of Mortgages, and Bonds. The third and last is; That it is a Vanity to conceive, that there would be ordinary Borrowing without Profit; and it is impossible to conceive, the Number of Inconveniences, that will ensue, if Borrowing be cramped. Therefore, to speak of the abolishing of *Usury* is idle. All States have ever had it, in one kind or rate, or other. So as that Opinion must be sent to *Utopia*.

To speak now, of the *Reformation* and *Reglement* of *Usury*; how the *Discommodities* of it may be best avoided, and the *Commodities* retained. It appears by the Balance, of *Commodities*, and *Discommodities*

of *Usury*, two Things are to be reconciled. The one, that the *Tooth* of *Usury* be grinded, that it bite not too much: The other, that there be left open a Means, to invite moneyed Men, to lend to the Merchants, for the continuing and quickening of Trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce, two several *Sorts* of *Usury*; a *Less*, and a *Greater*. For if you reduce *Usury*, to one Low Rate, it will ease the common Borrower, but the Merchant will be to seek for Money. And it is to be noted, that the Trade of Merchandize, being the most lucrative, may bear *Usury* at a good Rate; Other Contracts not so.

To serve both Intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be *Two Rates* of *Usury*, The one Free, and General for All; The other under *License* only, to *certain Persons*, and in *certain Places* of Merchandizing. First, therefore, let *Usury, in general, be reduced to Five in the Hundred*; and let that Rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the State shut itself out, to take any Penalty for the same. This will preserve Borrowing from any general Stop or Dryness. This will ease infinite Borrowers in the Country. This will, in good Part, raise the Price of Land, because Land purchased at Sixteen Years' Purchase, will yield Six in the Hundred, and somewhat more, whereas this Rate of Interest yields but Five. This, by like reason, will Encourage and edge industrious and profitable Improvements; because Many will rather venture in that kind, than take Five in the Hundred, especially having been used to greater Profit. Secondly,

let there be *certain Persons licensed to Lend, to known Merchants*, upon *Usury* at a *higher Rate*; and let it be with the Cautions following. Let the Rate be, even with the Merchant himself, somewhat more easy, than that he used formerly to pay: For, by that Means, all Borrowers shall have some ease, by this Reformation, be he Merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no Bank or Common Stock, but every Man be Master of his own Money: Not that I altogether Mislike Banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions. Let the State be answered, some small Matter, for the License, and the rest left to the Lender: For if the Abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the Lender. For he, for Example, that took before Ten or Nine in the Hundred, will sooner descend to Eight in the Hundred, than give over his Trade of *Usury*; and go from certain Gains, to Gains of Hazard. Let these licensed Lenders be in Number indefinite, but restrained to certain Principal Cities and Towns of Merchandizing: For then they will be hardly able, to colour other Men's Monies, in the Country: So as the *License of Nine* will not suck away the current *Rate of Five*: For no Man will send his Monies far off, nor put them into unknown Hands.

If it be objected, that this doth, in a sort, authorize *Usury*, which before was, in some places, but permissive: The Answer is; That it is better, to mitigate *Usury* by *Declaration*, than to suffer it to rage by *Connivance*.

XLII. Of Youth and Age.



MAN that is *young in Years*, may be old in Hours, if he have lost no Time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, *Youth* is like the first Cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a *Youth* in thoughts as well as in Ages. And yet the Invention of *young Men* is more lively, than that of old: And Imaginations stream into their Minds better, and, as it were, more divinely. Natures that have much Heat, and great and violent Desires and Perturbations, are not ripe for Action, till they have passed the Meridian of their years: As it was with *Julius Cæsar*, and *Septimius Severus*. Of the latter of whom, it is said; *Juventutem egit Erroribus, imò Furoribus, plenam*. And yet he was the ablest Emperor, almost, of all the List. But reposed Natures may do well in *Youth*. As it is seen in *Augustus Cæsar*, *Cosmus Duke of Florence*, *Gaston de Foix*, and others. On the other side, Heat and Vivacity in *Age*, is an Excellent Composition for Business. *Young Men* are Fitter to invent, than to judge; fitter for Execution, than for Counsell; and fitter for new Projects, than for settled Business. For the Experience of *Age*, in Things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new

Things, abuseth them. The Errors of *young Men* are the Ruin of Business; but the Errors of *aged Men* amount but to this; that more might have been done, or sooner. *Young Men*, in the conduct and Manage of Actions, embrace more than they can hold, stir more than they can quiet; fly to the End, without Consideration of the Means, and Degrees; pursue some few Principles, which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown Inconveniences; use extreme Remedies at first; and, that which doubleth all Errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready Horse, that will neither stop, nor turn. *Men of Age* object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive Business home to the full Period; but content themselves with a Mediocrity of Success. Certainly, it is good to compound Employments of both; for that will be good for the *Present*, because the Virtues of either *Age* may correct the defects of both: and good for Succession, that *Young Men* may be Learners, while *Men in Age* are Actors: And lastly, good for *externe Accidents*, because Authority followeth *old Men*, and Favour and Popularity *Youth*. But for the moral Part, perhaps *Youth* will have the pre-eminence, as *Age* hath for the Politick. A certain *Rabbin*, upon the Text; *Your Young Men shall see visions, and your Old Men shall dream dreams*; inferreth, that *young Men* are admitted nearer to God than *old*; because *Vision* is a clearer Revelation, than a *Dream*.

And certainly, the more a Man drinketh of the World, the more it intoxicateth; and *Age* doth profit rather in the Powers of Understanding, than in the Virtues of the Will and Affections. There be some have an over-early Ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes: These are first, such as have brittle Wits, the Edge whereof is soon turned; such as was *Hermogenes* the *Rhetorician*, whose Books are exceeding subtile; who afterwards waxed stupid. A second Sort is of those, that have some natural Dispositions, which have better Grace in *Youth*, than in *Age*; such as is a fluent and luxuriant Speech; which becomes *Youth* well, but not *Age*; so *Tully* saith of *Hortensius*; *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat*. The third is of such, as take too high a Strain at the First; and are magnanimous, more than Tract of years can uphold. As was *Scipio Africanus*, of whom *Livy* saith in effect; *Ultima Primis cedebant*.

XLIII. Of Beauty.



VIRTUE is like a rich Stone, best plain set: And surely, Virtue is best in a Body, that is comely, though not of delicate Features: And that hath rather Dignity of Presence, than *Beauty* of Aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very *beautiful Persons* are otherwise of great Virtue; as if Nature were rather

busy not to err, than in labour, to produce Excellency. And therefore, they prove accomplished, but not of great Spirit; and Study rather Behaviour, than Virtue. But this holds not always; for *Augustus Cæsar*, *Titus Vespasianus*, *Philip le Belle of France*, *Edward the Fourth of England*, *Alcibiades of Athens*, *Ismael the Sophy of Persia*, were all high and great Spirits; and yet the most *beautiful Men* of their Times. In *Beauty*, that of Favour is more than that of Colour, and that of decent and gracious Motion, more than that of Favour. That is the best Part of *Beauty*, which a Picture cannot express; no nor the first Sight of the Life. There is no excellent *Beauty*, that hath not some Strangeness in the Proportion. A Man cannot tell, whether *Apelles*, or *Albert Durer*, were the more Trifler: Whereof the one would make a Personage by Geometrical Proportions; the other, by taking the best Parts out of divers Faces, to make one Excellent. Such Personages, I think, would please nobody, but the Painter, that made them. Not but I think, a Painter may make a better Face, than ever was; but he must do it, by a kind of Felicity (as a Musician that maketh an excellent Air in Musick), and not by Rule. A Man shall see Faces, that if you examine them, Part by Part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true, that the principal Part of *Beauty* is in decent Motion, certainly it is no marvel, though *Persons in Years* seem many times more amiable; *Pulchrorum Autumnus Pulcher*: For no

Youth can be comely, but by Pardon, and considering the *Youth*, as to make up the comeliness. *Beauty* is as Summer Fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last: And, for the most part, it makes a dissolute *Youth*, and an *Age* a little out of countenance: But yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh Virtues shine, and Vices blush.

XLIV. Of Deformity.



DEFORMED Persons are commonly even with Nature: for as Nature hath done ill by them: so do they by Nature: Being for the most part (as the Scripture faith), *void of natural Affection*; and so they have their Revenge of Nature. Certainly there is a Consent between the Body and the Mind; and where Nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero*. But because, there is in Man, an Election touching the Frame of his Mind, and a Necessity in the Frame of his Body, the Stars of natural Inclination are sometimes obscured, by the Sun of Discipline and Virtue. Therefore, it is good to consider of *Deformity*, not as a Sign, which is more deceivable; but as a Cause, which seldom faileth of the Effect. Whosoever hath any Thing fixed in his Person, that doth induce Contempt, hath also a perpetual Spur

in himself, to rescue and deliver himself from Scorn : Therefore all *deformed Persons* are extreme bold. First, as in their own Defence, as being exposed to Scorn ; but in Process of Time, by a general Habit. Also it stirreth in them Industry, and especially of this kind, to watch and observe the Weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their Superiors, it quencheth Jealousy towards them, as Persons that they think they may at pleasure despise : And it layeth their Competitors and Emulators asleep ; as never believing, they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in Possession. So that, upon the matter, in a great Wit, *Deformity* is an Advantage to Rising. Kings in ancient Times (and at this present in some Countries,) were wont to put great Trust in *Eunuchs* ; because they, that are envious towards all, are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their Trust towards them hath rather been as to good Spials, and good Whisperers ; than good Magistrates, and Officers. And much like is the Reason of *deformed Persons*. Still the Ground is, they will, if they be of Spirit, seek to free themselves from Scorn ; which must be, either by Virtue, or Malice : And therefore, let it not be marvelled, if sometimes they prove excellent Persons : as was *Agefilaus*, *Zanger* the Son of *Solyman*, *Æsop*, *Gasca* President of *Peru* ; and *Socrates* may go likewise amongst them ; with others.

XLV. Of Building.



HOUSES are built to live in, and not to look on: Therefore let Use be preferred before Uniformity; except where both may be had. Leave the goodly Fabricks of *Houses*, for Beauty only, to the *encharnted Palaces* of the *Poets*: Who build them with small Cost. He that builds a fair *House*, upon an *ill Seat*, committeth himself to Prison. Neither do I reckon it an *ill Seat* only, where the Air is unwholesome; but likewise where the Air is unequal; as you shall see many fine *Seats*, set upon a knap of Ground, environed with higher Hills round about it: whereby the Heat of the Sun is pent in, and the Wind gathereth as in Troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great Diversity of Heat and Cold, as if you dwelt in several Places. Neither is it *ill Air* only, that maketh an *ill Seat*, but ill Ways, ill Markets; and, if you will consult with *Momus*, ill Neighbours. I speak not of many More: Want of Water; Want of Wood, Shade, and Shelter; Want of Fruitfulness, and mixture of Grounds of several Natures; Want of Prospect; Want of level Grounds; Want of Places, at some near Distance, for Sports of Hunting, Hawking, and Races; too near the Sea, too remote; having the Commodity of Navigable

Rivers, or the Discommodity of their Overflowing ; too far off from great Cities, which may hinder Buſineſs ; or too near them, which lurcheth all Proviſions, and maketh every Thing dear : Where a Man hath a great Living laid together, and where he is ſcanted : All which, as it is impoſſible, perhaps, to find together, ſo it is good to know them, and think of them, that a Man may take as many as he can : And if he have ſeveral Dwellings, that he fort them ſo, that what he wanteth in the one, he may find in the other. *Lucullus* answered *Pompey* well ; who when he ſaw his Stately Galleries, and Rooms, ſo large and lightſome, in one of his *Houſes*, ſaid ; *Surely, an excellent Place for Summer, but how do you in Winter ?* *Lucullus* answered ; *Why, do you not think me as wiſe as ſome Fowls are, that ever change their Abode towards the Winter ?*

To paſs from the *Seat*, to the *House* itſelf ; we will do as *Cicero* doth, in the Orator's Art ; who writes Books *De Oratore*, and a Book he entitles *Orator* : Whereof the Former delivers the Precepts of the *Art* ; and the Latter the *Perfection*. We will therefore deſcribe a *Princely Palace*, making a brief Model thereof. For it is ſtrange to ſee, now in *Europe*, ſuch huge *Buildings*, as the *Vatican*, and *Eſcurial*, and ſome others be, and yet ſcarce a very fair Room in them.

Fiſt therefore, I ſay, you cannot have a perfect *Palace*, except you have two ſeveral Sides ; a Side for the *Banquet*, as is ſpoken of in the Book of

Hefter; and a Side, for the *Household*: The one for Feasts and Triumphs, and the other for Dwelling. I understand both these Sides to be not only Returns, but Parts of the *Front*; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both Sides, of a Great and *Statelý Tower*, in the midst of the *Front*; that as it were, joineth them together, on either Hand. I would have on the Side of the *Banquet*, in Front, one only *goodly Room*, above Stairs, of some Forty Foot high; And under it, a Room, for a *dressing or preparing Place*, at Times of Triumphs. On the other Side, which is the *Household* Side, I wish it divided at the first, into a *Hall*, and a *Chapel* (with a Partition between); both of good State, and Bigness: And those not to go all the length, but to have, at the further end, a *Winter*, and a *Summer Parlour*, both fair. And under these Rooms, a fair and large *Cellar*, sunk under Ground: And likewise, some *privy Kitchens*, with *Butteries*, and *Pantries*, and the like. As for the *Tower*, I would have it two Stories, of Eighteen Foot high apiece, above the two Wings; and a goodly *Leads* upon the Top, railed with Statues interposed; and the same *Tower* to be divided into Rooms, as shall be thought fit. The Stairs likewise, to the upper Rooms, let them be upon a fair open *Newel*, and finely railed in, with *Images of Wood*, cast into a Brass Colour: And a very fair *Landing Place* at the Top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower Rooms, for a Dining Place of

Servants. For otherwife, you ſhall have the Servants' Dinner after your own: For the Steame of it will come up as in a Tunnel. And ſo much for the *Front*. Only, I underſtand the Height of the firſt Stairs, to be Sixteen Foot, which is the Height of the Lower Room.

Beyond this *Front*, is there to be a fair *Court*, but three Sides of it, of a far Lower building, than the *Front*. And in all the four Corners of that Court, fair Stair Cafes, caſt into *Turrets*, on the Outſide, and not within the Row of *Buildings* themſelves. But thoſe *Towers* are not to be of the Height of the *Front*; but rather proportionable to the Lower *Building*. Let the *Court* not be paved, for that ſtriketh up a great Heat in Summer, and much Cold in Winter. But only ſome Side Alleys, with a Croſs, and the *Quarters* to Graze, being kept Shorn, but not too near Shorn. The *Row* of *Return*, on the *Banquet Side*, let it be all *Stately Galleries*; in which *Galleries*, let there be three, or five, fine *Cupolas*, in the Length of it, placed at equal diſtance: And fine *coloured Windows* of ſeveral works. On the Houſehold Side, *Chambers* of *Preſence*, and ordinary Entertainments, with ſome *Bed-chambers*; and let all three Sides, be a double Houſe, without thorough Lights, on the Sides, that you may have Rooms from the Sun, both for Forenoon, and Afternoon. Caſt it alſo, that you may have Rooms, both for Summer, and Winter: Shady for Summer, and Warm for Winter. You ſhall have ſometimes fair

Houses, so full of Glafs, that one cannot tell, where to become, to be out of the Sun, or Cold: For *In-bowed Windows*, I hold them of good Use (in Cities indeed, *upright* do better, in respect of the Uniformity towards the Street); for they be pretty Retiring Places for Conference; and besides, they keep both the Wind, and Sun off: For that which would strike almost through the Room, doth scarce pass the *Window*. But let them be but few, Four in the *Court*, on the Sides only.

Beyond this *Court*, let there be an *inward Court* of the same Square, and Height; which is to be environed with the *Garden*, on all Sides: And in the Inside, cloistered on all Sides, upon decent and beautiful Arches, as High as the first Story. On the *under Story*, towards the *Garden*, let it be turned to *Grotto*, or Place of Shade, or Estivation. And only have opening and *Windows* towards the *Garden*; and be level upon the Floor, no whit sunk under Ground, to avoid all Dampishness. And let there be a *Fountain*, or some fair *Work of Statues*, in the Midst of this *Court*; and to be paved as the other Court was. These Buildings to be for *privy Lodgings*, on both Sides; and the End, for *privy Galleries*. Whereof, you must foresee, that one of them be for an *Infirmery*, if the Prince, or any Special Person should be Sick, with *Chambers*, *Bed-chamber*, *Anticamera*, and *Recamera*, joining to it. This upon the Second Story. Upon the *Ground Story*, a fair *Gallery*, open, upon *Pillars*: And upon the *Third*

Story likewise, an *open Gallery* upon *Pillars*, to take the Prospect, and Freshness of the *Garden*. At both Corners of the further Side, by way of Return, let there be two delicate or rich *Cabinets*, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with *crystalline Glass*, and a rich *Cupola* in the Midst; and all other Elegancy that can be thought upon. In the *Upper Gallery* too, I wish that there may be, if the Place will yield it, some *Fountains* running, in divers Places, from the Wall, with some fine Avoidances. And thus much, for the Model of the *Palace*: Save that, you must have, before you come to the *Front*, three Courts. A *Green Court Plain*, with a Wall about it: A *Second Court* of the same, but more garnished, with little *Turrets*, or rather Embellishments, upon the Wall: And a *Third Court*, to make a Square with the *Front*, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a Naked Wall, but enclosed with *Terraces*, leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three Sides; and cloistered on the Inside, with *Pillars*, and not with *Arches* Below. As for *Offices*, let them stand at Distance, with some *low Galleries*, to pass from them, to the *Palace* itself.

XLVI. Of Gardens.



GOD *Almighty* first planted a *Garden*.
 And indeed, it is the purest of Human
 Pleasures. It is the greatest Refresh-
 ment to the Spirits of Man; without
 which, *Buildings* and *Palaces* are but gross Handy-
 works: And a Man shall ever see, that when Ages
 grow to Civility and Elegancy, Men come to *Build*
Stately, sooner than to *Garden finely*: As if *Gar-*
dening were the greater Perfection. I do hold it,
 in the royal Ordering of *Gardens*, there ought to be
Gardens, for all the *Months* in the Year: In which,
 severally, Things of Beauty may be then in Season.
 For *December*, and *January*, and the Latter Part
 of *November*, you must take such Things, as are
 Green all Winter: Holly; Ivy; Bays; Juniper;
 Cypress Trees; Yew; Pine-apple Trees; Fir Trees;
 Rosemary; Lavender; Periwinkle, the white, the
 purple, and the blue; Germander; Flags; Orange
 Trees; Lemon Trees; and Myrtles, if they be
 stoved; and Sweet Marjoram warm set. There
 followeth, for the latter Part of *January*, and *Febru-*
ary, the Mezerion Tree, which then blossoms; Cro-
 cus vernus, both the yellow, and the gray; Primroses;
 Anemonies; the early Tulipa; Hyacinthus Orien-
 talis; Chamairis; Fritellaria. For *March*, There

come Violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the Yellow Daffodil; the Daisy; the Almond Tree in blossom; the Peach Tree in blossom; the Cornelian Tree in blossom; Sweet Briar. In *April* follow, the double white Violet; the Wallflower; the Stock Gilliflower; the Cowslip; Flower de Lucis, and Lillies of all natures; Rosemary Flowers; the Tulipa; the Double Peony; the pale Daffodil; the French Honeysuckle; the Cherry Tree in blossom; the Damson, and Plum Trees in blossom; the Whitethorn in leaf; the Lilac Tree. In *May*, and *June*, come Pinks of all sorts, specially the Blush Pink; Roses of all kinds, except the Musk, which comes later; Honeysuckles; Strawberries; Bugloss; Columbine; the French Marygold; Flos Africanus; Cherry Tree in Fruit; Ribes; Figs in Fruit; Rasps; Vine Flowers; Lavender in Flowers; the Sweet Satyrian, with the White Flower; Herba Muscaria; Liliun Convallium; the Apple Tree in blossom. In *July*, come Gilliflowers of all varieties; Musk Roses; the Lime Tree in blossom, early Pears, and Plums in Fruit; Gennittings; Quodlins. In *August*, come Plums of all sorts in fruit; Pears; Apricocks; Barberries; Filberds; Musk-Melons; Monks Hoods, of all colours. In *September*, come Grapes; Apples; Poppies of all colours; Peaches; Melo-Catones; Nectarines; Cornelians; Wardens; Quinces. In *October*, and the beginning of *November*, come Services; Medlars; Bullaces; Roses cut or removed to come late; Hollyoaks; and such like. Thus, if you

will, you may have the *Golden Age* again, and a Spring all the year long.

And, because the *Breath* of Flowers is far Sweeter in the Air (where it comes and goes, like the Warbling of Musick), than in the Hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the *Flowers* and *Plants*, that do best perfume the Air. Roses Damask and Red, are fast Flowers of their Smells; so that; you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their Sweetness; yea though it be, in a Morning's Dew. Bays likewise yield no Smell, as they grow. Rosemary little; nor Sweet Marjoram. That which above all others, yields the *Sweetest Smell* in the Air, is the Violet; specially the White double Violet, which comes twice a Year; about the middle of *April*, and about *Bartholomew-tide*. Next to that is, the Musk Rose. Then the Strawberry Leaves dying, with a most excellent Cordial Smell. Then the Flower of the Vines; it is a little dust, like the dust of a Bent, which grows upon the Cluster, in the First coming forth. Then Sweet Briar. Then Wallflowers, which are very delightful, to be set under a Parlour, or lower Chamber Window. Then Pinks, and Gillyflowers, specially the Matted Pink, and Clove Gilliflower. Then the Flowers of the Lime Tree. Then the Honeyuckles, so they be somewhat afar off. Of Bean Flowers I speak not, because they are Field Flowers. But those which *Perfume* the Air most delightfully, not *passed by* as the rest, but being

Trodden upon and *crushed*, are three : That is Burnet, Wild Thyme, and Water-Mints. Therefore, you are to fet whole Alleys of them, to have the Pleasure, when you walk or tread.

For *Gardens*, (speaking of those, which are indeed *prince-like*, as we have done of *Buildings*) the Contents ought not well to be under *Thirty Acres of Ground* ; and to be divided into three Parts : A *Green* in the Entrance ; a *Heath* or *Desert* in the Going forth ; and the *Main Garden* in the midst ; besides *Alleys*, on both Sides. And I like well, that Four Acres of Ground be assigned to the *Green* ; Six to the *Heath* ; Four and Four to either *Side* ; and Twelve to the *Main Garden*. The *Green* hath two pleasures ; the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the Eye, than green Grasse kept finely shorn ; the other, because it will give you a fair Alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a *stately Hedge*, which is to enclose the *Garden*. But, because the Alley will be long, and in great Heat of the Year, or Day, you ought not to buy the shade in the *Garden*, by going in the Sun through the *Green*, therefore you are, of either *Side* the *Green*, to Plant a *Covered Alley*, upon Carpenter's Work, about Twelve Foot in Height, by which you may go in Shade, into the *Garden*. As for the making of *Knots*, or *Figures*, with *divers coloured Earths*, that they may lie under the Windows of the House, on that Side, which the *Garden* stands, they be but Toys : You may see as good Sight, many times, in Tarts. The *Garden* is best

to be Square; encompassed, on all the Four Sides with a *Stately Arched Hedge*. The *Arches* to be upon *Pillars* of Carpenter's Work, of some Ten Foot high, and Six Foot broad: And the *Spaces* between, of the same Dimension, with the *Breadth* of the *Arch*. Over the *Arches*, let there be an *entire Hedge*, of some Four Foot High, framed also upon Carpenter's Work: And over every *Arch*, and upon the upper *Hedge*, over every *Arch*, a little *Turret*, with a *Belly*, enough to receive a *Cage of Birds*: And over every *Space*, between the *Arches*, some other little *Figure*, with broad Plates of *round coloured Glafs*, gilt, for the *Sun* to Play upon. But this *Hedge* I intend to be raised upon a *Bank*, not steep, but gently slope, of some Six Foot, set all with *Flowers*. Also I understand, that this *Square* of the *Garden* should not be the whole *Breadth* of the Ground, but to leave, on either Side, Ground enough for diversity of *Side Alleys*: Unto which the Two *covered Alleys* of the *Green*, may deliver you. But there must be no *Alleys* with *Hedges*, at either *End*, of this great *Inclosure*: Not at the *hither End*, for letting your Prospect upon this fair Hedge from the *Green*; nor at the *further End*, for letting your Prospect from the Hedge, through the *Arches*, upon the *Heath*.

For the ordering of the Ground, within the *Great Hedge*, I leave it to Variety of Device; advising nevertheless, that whatsoever form you cast it into, first it be not too busy, or full of Work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like *Images cut out in Juniper*,

or other *Garden stuff*: They be for Children. *Little low Hedges*, round, like Welts, with some pretty *Pyramids*, I like well: And in some Places, *fair Columns* upon Frames of Carpenter's Work. I would also have the *Alleys*, spacious and fair. You may have *closer Alleys* upon the *side Grounds*, but none in the *main Garden*. I wish also, in the very middle, a *fair Mount*, with three Ascents and Alleys, enough for Four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect Circles, without any Bulwarks, or Imbosiments; and the *whole Mount*, to be Thirty Foot high; and some fine *Banquetting House*, with some *Chimneys* neatly cast, and without too much *Glass*.

For *Fountains*, they are a great Beauty, and Refreshment; but *Pools* mar all, and make the *Garden* unwholesome, and full of Flies, and Frogs. *Fountains* I intend to be of two Natures: The One, that *sprinkleth* or *spouteth Water*; the other, a *fair Receipt* of *Water*, of some Thirty or Forty Foot Square, but without Fish, or Slime, or Mud. For the first, the *Ornaments* of *Images gilt*, or of *Marble*, which are in use, do well: But the main Matter is, so to convey the *Water*, as it never Stay, either in the Bowls, or in the Cistern; that the *Water* be never by Rest *discoloured*, *green*, or *red*, or the like; or gather any *Mossiness* *Putrefaction*. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the Hand. Also some *Steps* up to it, and some *fine Pavement* about it, doth well. As for the other kind of *Fountain*, which we may call a *Bathing Pool*, it may admit much Cu-

riosity, and Beauty; wherewith we will not trouble ourselves: As, that the Bottom be finely paved, and with Images: The sides likewise; and withall embellished with coloured Glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also, with fine Rails of low Statues. But the main Point is the same, which we mentioned, in the former kind of *Fountain*; which is, that the *Water* be in *Perpetual Motion*, fed by a Water higher than the *Pool*, and delivered into it by fair Spouts, and then discharged away under Ground, by some equality of Bores, that it stay little. And for fine Devices, of arching water without Spilling, and Making it rise in several Forms (of Feathers, Drinking Glasses, Canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look, but nothing to Health and Sweetness.

For the *Heath*, which was the Third Part of our Plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a *natural Wildness*. *Trees* I would have none in it; but some *Thickets*, made only of *Sweetbriar*, and *Honeysuckle*, and some *Wild Vine* amongst; and the Ground set with *Violets*, *Strawberries*, and *Primroses*. For these are sweet, and prosper in the Shade. And these to be in the *Heath*, here and there, not in any Order. I like also little *Heaps*, in the Nature of *Molehills*, (such as are in *Wild Heaths*) to be set, some with Wild Thyme; some with Pinks; some with Germander, that gives a good Flower to the Eye; some with Periwinkle; some with Violets; some with Strawberries; some with Cowslips; some

with Daifies; some with red Roses; some with *Lilium Convallium*; some with Sweet-Williams red; some with Bearsfoot; and the like low Flowers, being withal sweet, and lightly. Part of which *Heaps*, to be with *Standards*, of little *Bushes*, pricked upon their Top, and Part without. The *Standards* to be Roses; Juniper; Holly; Barberries (but here and there, because of the Smell of their Blossom); Red Currants; Goose-berries; Rosemary; Bays; Sweetbriar; and such like. But these *Standards*, to be kept with Cutting, that they grow not out of Course.

For the *Side Grounds*, you are to fill them with *Variety* of *Alleys*, Private, to give a full Shade; some of them, wheresoever the Sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for Shelter, that when the Wind blows sharp, you may walk, as in a Gallery. And those *Alleys* must be likewise hedged, at both Ends, to keep out the Wind; and these *closer Alleys*, must be ever finely gravelled, and no Grass, because of going wet. In many of these *Alleys* likewise, you are to set *Fruit Trees* of all Sorts; as well upon the Walls, as in Ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the *Borders*, wherein you plant your *Fruit Trees*, be fair and large, and low, and not steep; and set with *fine Flowers*, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the *Trees*. At the End of both the *Side Grounds*, I would have a *Mount* of some pretty Height, leaving the Wall of the Enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the *Main Garden*, I do not deny, but there should be some fair *Alleys*, ranged on both Sides, with *Fruit Trees*; and some pretty *Tufts* of *Fruit Trees*, and *Arbours* with *Seats*, set in some decent Order; but these to be, by no Means, set too thick; but to leave the *Main Garden*, so as it be not close, but the Air open and free. For as for *Shade*, I would have you rest, upon the *Alleys* of the *Side Grounds*, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the Heat of the Year, or Day; but to make account, that the *Main Garden*, is for the more temperate parts of the Year; and in the Heat of Summer, for the Morning, and the Evening, or Overcast Days.

For *Aviaries*, I like them not, except they be of that Largeness, as they may be *Turfed*, and have *living Plants*, and *Bushes*, set in them; that the *Birds* may have more Scope, and natural Nestling, and that no *Foulness* appear in the *Floor* of the *Aviary*. So I have made a Platform of a *princely Garden*, partly by Precept, partly by Drawing, not a Model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no Cost. But it is nothing for *great Princes*, that for the most Part, taking advice with Workmen, with no less Cost, set their Things together; and sometimes add *Statues*, and such Things, for State and Magnificence, but nothing to the true Pleasure of a *Garden*.

XLVII. Of Negotiating.



It is generally better to *deal* by Speech, than by Letter; and by the Mediation of a Third, than by a Man's Self. Letters are good, when a Man would draw an answer by Letter back again; or when it may serve, for a Man's Justification, afterwards to produce his own Letter; or where it may be Danger to be interrupted, or heard by Pieces. To *deal in Person* is good, when a Man's Face breedeth Regard, as commonly with Inferiors; or in tender Cases, where a Man's Eye, upon the Countenance of him with whom he speaketh, may give him a Direction, how far to go: And generally, where a Man will reserve to himself Liberty, either to disavow, or to expound. In choice of *Instruments*, it is better to choose Men of a plainer Sort, that are like to do that, that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the Success; than those, that are cunning to contrive out of other Men's Business, somewhat to grace themselves; and will help the Matter, in Report, for Satisfaction sake. Use also such Persons, as affect the Business, wherein they are employed; for that quickeneth much; and such, as are Fit for the Matter, as bold Men for Expostulation, fair spoken Men for Persuasion, crafty Men for Enquiry and Observation, froward and absurd Men for Business that doth not well bear out itself. Use

also such, as have been lucky, and prevailed before in Things wherein you have employed them ; for that breeds Confidence, and they will strive to maintain their Prescription. It is better, to sound a Person, with whom one *deals*, afar off, than to fall upon the point at First ; except you mean to surprize him by some short Question. It is better *dealing* with Men in Appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a Man *deal* with another upon Conditions, the Start or First Performance is all ; which a Man cannot reasonably demand, except either the Nature of the Thing be such, which must go before ; or else a Man can persuade the other Party, that he shall still need him, in some other Thing ; or else, that he be counted the honester Man. All Practice, is to *discover*, or to *work*. Men *discover* themselves, in Trust ; in Passion ; at unawares ; and of Necessity, when they would have somewhat done, and cannot find an apt Pretext. If you would work any Man, you must either know his Nature, and Fashions, and so lead him ; or his Ends, and so persuade him : or his Weakness, and Disadvantages, and so awe him ; or those that have Interest in him, and so govern him. In *Dealing* with cunning Persons, we must ever consider their Ends, to interpret their Speeches ; and it is good, to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all *Negotiations* of Difficulty, a Man may not look to sow and reap at once ; but must prepare Business, and so ripen it by Degrees.

XLVIII. Of Followers and Friends.



MOSTLY *Followers* are not to be liked ; left while a Man maketh his Train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone, which charge the Purse, but which are wearisome and importune in Suits. Ordinary *Followers* ought to challenge higher Conditions, than Countenance, Recommendation, and Protection from Wrongs. Factious *Followers* are worse to be liked, which follow not upon Affection to him, with whom they range themselves, but upon Discontentment conceived against some other : Whereupon commonly ensueth, that ill Intelligence, that we many times see between great Personages. Likewise glorious *Followers*, who make themselves as Trumpets, of the Commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience ; for they taint Business through Want of Secrecy ; and they export Honour from a Man, and make him a Return in Envy. There is a kind of *Followers* likewise, which are dangerous, being indeed Espials ; which enquire the Secrets of the House, and bear Tales of them to others. Yet such Men, many times, are in great Favour ; for they are officious, and commonly exchange Tales. The *Following* by certain *Estates* of Men, answerable to that, which a great

Person himself professeth (as of Soldiers to him that hath been employed in the Wars, and the like), hath ever been a Thing civil, and well taken even in Monarchies; so it be without too much Pomp or Popularity. But the most honourable kind of *Following*, is to be followed, as one that apprehendeth, to advance Virtue and Desert, in all sorts of Persons. And yet, where there is no eminent Odds in Sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able. And besides, to speak Truth, in base Times, active Men are of more use, than virtuous. It is true, that in Government, it is good to use Men of one Rank equally; for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a Due. But contrariwise in Favour, to use Men with much difference and election, is good; for it maketh the Persons preferred more thankful, and the Rest more officious; because all is of Favour. It is good Discretion, not to make too much of any Man, at the first; because one cannot hold out that Proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by One, is not safe: for it shews Softness, and gives a Freedom to Scandal and Disreputation: For those that would not censure, or speak ill of a Man immediately, will talk more boldly of those, that are so great with them, and thereby wound their Honour. Yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes Men, to be of the last Impression, and full of Change. To take Advice of some few Friends is ever honourable;

for Lookers on, many times, see more than Gamesters ; and the Vale best discovereth the Hill. There is little Friendship in the World, and least of all between Equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between Superior and Inferior, whose Fortunes may comprehend, the one the other.

XLIX. Of Suitors.



ANY ill Matters and Projects are undertaken ; and private *Suits* do putrify the publick Good. Many good Matters are undertaken with bad Minds ; I mean not only corrupt Minds, but crafty Minds, that intend not Performance. Some embrace *Suits*, which never mean to deal effectually in them ; but if they see, there may be life in the Matter, by some other mean, they will be content to win a Thank, or take a second Reward, or at least to make Use, in the mean time, of the *Suitor's* Hopes. Some take hold of *Suits*, only for an Occasion, to cross some other ; or to make an Information, whereof they could not otherwise have apt Pretext ; without Care what become of the *Suit*, when that Turn is served : Or generally, to make other Men's Business, a kind of Entertainment, to bring in their own. Nay, some undertake *Suits*, with a full Purpose, to let them fall ; to the end, to gratify the adverse Party, or Com-

petitor. Surely, there is, in some sort, a Right in every *Suit*; either a Right of Equity, if it be a *Suit* of Controversy; or a Right of Desert, if it be a *Suit* of Petition. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the wrong Side in Justice, let him rather use his Countenance, to compound the Matter, than to carry it. If Affection lead a Man, to favour the less Worthy in Desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better Deserver. In *Suits*, which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some Friend of Trust and Judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with Honour: But let him choose well his Referendaries; for else he may be led by the Nose. *Suitors* are so distasted with Delays, and Abuses, that plain Dealing, in denying to deal in *Suits* at first, and reporting the Success barely, and in challenging no more Thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable, but also gracious. In *Suits* of Favour, the first coming ought to take little Place: So far forth Consideration may be had of his Trust, that if Intelligence of the Matter, could not otherwise have been had, but by him, Advantage be not taken of the note, but the Party left to his other Means, and, in some sort, recompensed for his Discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a *Suit*, is Simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the Right thereof, is Want of Conscience. Secrecy in *Suits* is a great Mean of Obtaining; for voicing them, to be in Forwardness, may discourage some Kind of *Suitors*; but doth quicken and awake

Others. But timing of the *Suit*, is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the Person, that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a Man, in the choice of his Mean, rather choose the fittest Mean, than the greatest Mean: And rather them, that deal in certain Things, than those that are general. The Reparation of a Denial, is sometimes equal to the first Grant; if a Man shew himself, neither dejected, nor discontented. *Iniquum petas, ut Æquum feras*; is a good Rule, where a Man hath Strength of Favour: But otherwise, a Man were better rise in his *Suit*; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the *Suitor*, will not in the Conclusion, lose both the *Suitor*, and his own former Favour. Nothing is thought so easy a Request, to a great Person, as his Letter; and yet, if it be not in a good Cause, it is so much out of his Reputation. There are no worse Instruments, than these general Contrivers of *Suits*: For they are but a kind of Poison and Infection to publick Proceedings.

L. Of Studies.



STUDIES serve for Delight, for Ornament, and for Ability. Their chief Use for Delight, is in privateness and Retiring; for Ornament, is in Discourse; and for Ability, is in the Judgment and

Disposition of Business. For expert Men can execute, and perhaps judge of Particulars, one by one; but the general Counsels, and the Plots, and marshalling of Affairs, come best from those that are *learned*. To spend too much Time in *Studies*, is sloth; to use them too much for Ornament, is Affectation; to make Judgment wholly by their Rules is the Humour of a Scholar. They perfect Nature, and are perfected by Experience: For natural Abilities are like natural Plants, that need pruning by *Study*: And *Studies* themselves do give forth Directions too much at Large, except they be bounded in by Experience. Crafty Men condemn *Studies*; simple Men admire them; and wise Men use them: For they teach not their own Use; But that is a Wisdom without them, and above them, won by Observation. Read not to contradict, and confute; Nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find Talk and Discourse; but to weigh and consider. Some *Books* are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some Few to be chewed and digested: That is, some *Books* are to be read only in Parts; others to be read but not curiously; and some Few to be read wholly, and with Diligence and Attention. Some *Books* also may be read by Deputy, and Extracts made of them by others: But that would be only in the less important Arguments, and the meaner Sort of *Books*: else distilled *Books* are like common distilled Waters, flashy Things. Reading maketh a full Man; Conference a ready Man; and Writing an exact Man.

And therefore, if a Man write little, he had need have a great Memory ; if he confer little, he had need have a present Wit ; and if he read little, he had need have much Cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. *Histories* make Men wise ; *Poets* Witty ; the *Mathematicks* subtile ; *natural Philosophy* deep ; *moral* Grave ; *Logick* and *Rhetorick* able to contend. *Abeunt studia in Mores*. Nay there is no Stand or Impediment in the Wit, but may be wrought out by fit *Studies* : Like as Diseases of the Body may have Appropriate Exercises. Bowling is good for the Stone and Reins ; Shooting for the Lungs and Breast ; gentle Walking for the Stomach ; Riding for the Head ; and the like. So if a Man's Wit be wandering, let him *Study* the *Mathematics* ; for in Demonstrations, if his Wit be called away never so little, he must begin again ; if his Wit be not apt to distinguish or find difference, let him *study* the *Schoolmen* ; for they are *Cymini sectores*. If he be not apt to beat over Matters, and to call up one Thing, to prove and illustrate another, let him *study* the *Lawyer's Cases* ; so every Defect of the Mind may have a special Receipt.

LI. Of Faction.



ANY have an Opinion not wise ; that for a Prince to govern his Estate ; or for a great Person to govern his Proceedings, according to the Respect of *Factions*, is a Principal Part of Policy : whereas contrariwise, the chiefest Wisdom is, either in ordering those Things, which are general, and wherein Men of several *Factions* do nevertheless agree ; or in dealing with Correspondence to particular Persons, one by one. But I say not, that the consideration of *Factions* is to be Neglected. Mean Men, in their rising, must adhere ; but great Men, that have Strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent, and neutral. Yet even in Beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a Man of the one *Faction*, which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best Way. The lower and weaker *Faction*, is the firmer in Conjunction : And it is often seen, that a Few, that are stiff, do tire out, a greater Number, that are more moderate. When One of the *Factions* is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth : As the *Faction* between *Lucullus*, and the Rest of the nobles of the Senate, (which they called *Optimates*) held out a while, against the *Faction* of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* : But when the Senate's Au-

thority was pulled down, *Cæsar* and *Pompey* soon after brake. The *Faction* or Party of *Antonius*, and *Octavianus Cæsar*, against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, held out likewise for a time: But when *Brutus* and *Cassius* were overthrown, then soon after *Antonius* and *Octavianus* brake and subdivided. These Examples are of Wars, but the same holdeth in private *Factions*. And therefore, those that are Seconds in *Factions*, do many times, when the *Faction* subdivideth, prove Principals: But many times also, they prove Ciphers and cashiered: For many a Man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth, he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen, that Men once placed, take in with the contrary *Faction* to that by which they enter; thinking belike that they have the First sure; and now are ready for a new Purchase. The Traitor in *Faction* lightly goeth away with it; for when Matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one Man casteth them, and he getteth all the Thanks. The even Carriage between two *Factions*, proceedeth not always of Moderation, but of a Trueness to a Man's Self, with End to make use of both. Certainly in *Italy*, they hold it a little suspect in *Popes*, when they have often in their Mouth, *Padre commune*: And take it, to be a Sign of one, that meaneth to refer all to the Greatness of his own House. Kings had need beware, how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a *Faction* or Party: For Leagues within the State are ever pernicious to Monarchies; for they raise an Obliga-

tion, paramount to Obligation of Sovereignty, and make the King, *Tanquam unus ex nobis*: As was to be seen, in the *League of France*. When *Factions* are carried too high, and too violently, it is a Sign of Weakness in Princes; and much to the Prejudice, both of their Authority, and Business. The Motions of *Factions*, under Kings, ought to be like the Motions (as the *Astronomers* speak) of the inferior Orbs; which may have their proper Motions, but yet still, are quietly carried, by the higher Motion, of *Primum Mobile*.

LII. Of Ceremonies and Respects.



THAT is only real, had need have exceeding great Parts of Virtue: As the Stone had need to be Rich, that is set without Foil. But if a Man mark it

well, it is in Praise and Commendation of Men, as it is in Gettings and Gains: For the Proverb is true, *That light Gains make heavy Purses*; for light Gains come thick, whereas Great come but now and then. So it is true, that small Matters win great Commendation, because they are continually in Use, and in note: whereas the Occasion of any great Virtue, cometh but on Festivals. Therefore it doth much add, to a Man's Reputation, and is, (as Queen *Isabella*

said) *Like perpetual Letters commendatory*, to have good *Forms*. To attain them, it almost sufficeth, not to despise them: For so shall a Man observe them in Others: And let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their Grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some Men's Behaviour is like a Verse, wherein every Syllable is measured: How can a Man comprehend great Matters, that breaketh his Mind too much to small Observations? Not to use *Ceremonies* at all is to teach Others not to use them again; and so diminisheth *Respect* to himself: Especially they be not to be omitted to Strangers, and formal Natures: But the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the Moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the Faith and Credit of him that speaks. And certainly, there is a Kind of Conveying of effectual and imprinting Passages, amongst Complements, which is of singular use, if a Man can hit upon it. Amongst a Man's Peers, a Man shall be sure of Familiarity; and therefore, it is good a little to keep State. Amongst a Man's Inferiors, One shall be sure of Reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in any Thing, so that he giveth another Occasion of Satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply One's Self to others is good: So it be with Demonstration, that a Man doth it upon Regard, and not upon Facility. It is a good Precept, generally in seconding Another, yet to add somewhat of One's own: As if you will grant

his Opinion, let it be with some Distinction; if you will follow his Motion, let it be with Condition; if you allow his Counfel, let it be with alleging further Reason. Men had need beware, how they be too Perfect in Complements; for be they never so fufficient otherwise, their Enviars will be fure to give them that Attribute, to the Difadvantage of their greater Virtues. It is lofs alfo in Bufinefs, to be too full of *Respects*, or to be too curious in obferving Times and Opportunities. *Solomon* faith; *He that confidereth the Wind, fhall not fow, and he that looketh to the Clouds, fhall not reap.* A wife Man will make more Opportunities than he finds. Men's Behaviour fhould be like their Apparel, not too ftrait, or point device, but free for exercife or motion.

LIII. Of Praise.



RAISE is the Reflection of Virtue. But it is Glafs, or Body, which giveth the Reflection. If it be from the Common People, it is commonly falfe and naught: And rather followeth vain Perfons, than virtuous: For the Common People underftand not many excellent Virtues: The loweft Virtues draw *Praise* from them; the middle Virtues work in them Astonifhment, or Admiration; But of the

highest Virtues, they have no Sense, or perceiving at all. But Shews, and *Species Virtutibus similes*, serve best with them. Certainly, Fame is like a River, that beareth up Things light and swollen, and drowns Things weighty and solid: But if Persons of Quality and Judgment concur, then it is, (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar Unguenti fragrantis*. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the Odours of Ointments are more durable than those of Flowers. There be so many false Points of *Praise*, that a Man may justly hold it a suspect. Some *Praises* proceed merely of Flattery; and if he be an ordinary Flatterer, he will have certain common Attributes, which may serve every Man; if he be a cunning Flatterer, he will follow the Arch-flatterer, which is a Man's Self; and wherein a Man thinketh best of himself, therein the Flatterer will uphold him most: But if he be an impudent Flatterer, look wherein a Man is conscious to himself, that he is most defective, and is most out of Countenance in himself, that will the Flatterer entitle him to, perforce, *Spretâ Conscientiâ*. Some *Praises* come of good Wishes, and Respects, which is a Form due in Civility to Kings, and Great Persons, *Laudando præcipere*; when by telling Men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some Men are *praised* maliciously to their Hurt, thereby to stir Envy and Jealousy towards them; *Pessimus Genus Inimicorum Laudantium*; Insomuch as it was a Proverb, amongst the *Grecians*; that, *He that was*

praised to his Hurt, should have a Push rise upon his Nose: As we say; That a Blister will rise upon one's Tongue, that tells a lie. Certainly moderate Praise, used with Opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the Good. *Solomon saith; He that praiseth his Friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a Curse.* Too much magnifying of Man or Matter, doth irritate Contradiction, and procure Envy and Scorn. To *praise* a Man's Self, cannot be decent, except it be in rare Cases: But to *praise* a Man's Office or Profession, he may do it with good Grace, and with a kind of Magnanimity. The *Cardinals of Rome*, which are Theologues, and Friars, and Schoolmen, have a Phrase of notable Contempt and Scorn, towards civil Business: for they call all temporal Business, of Wars, Embassages, Judicature, and other Employments, *Sbirrerie*; which is, *Under Sheriffries*; as if they were but matters for Under Sheriffs and Catchpoles; though many times those *Under Sheriffries* do more good, than their High Speculations. *St. Paul*, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace; *I speak like a Fool*; but speaking of his calling, he saith; *Magnificabo Apostolatum meum.*

LIV. Of Vain Glory.



T was prettily devised of *Æsop*; *the Fly sate upon the Axle-tree of the Chariot-wheel, and said, What a Dust do I raise?* So are there some *Vain Persons*, that whatsoever goeth alone, or moveth upon greater Means, if they have never so little Hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are *Glorious*, must needs be *Factionous*; for all Bravery stands upon Comparisons. They must needs be *violent*, to make good their own Vaunts. Neither can they be *secret*, and therefore not effectual; but according to the *French Proverb*; *Beaucoup de Bruit, peu de Fruit: Much Bruit, little Fruit.* Yet certainly there is Use of this Quality, in civil Affairs. Where there is an Opinion, and Fame to be created, either of Virtue or Greatness, these Men are good Trumpeters. Again, as *Titus Livius* noteth, in the Case of *Antiochus* and the *Ætolians*; *There are sometimes great Effects of cross Lies*; as if a Man, that negotiates between Two Princes, to draw them to join in a War against the Third, doth extol the Forces of either of them, above Measure, the one to the other: And sometimes, he that deals between Man and Man, raiseth his own Credit, with Both, by pretending greater Interest, than he hath in Either.

And in these, and the like kinds, it often falls out, that *Somewhat* is produced of *Nothing*: For Lies are sufficient to breed Opinion, and Opinion brings on Substance. In military Commanders and Soldiers, *Vain Glory* is an essential Point; for as Iron sharpens Iron, so by *Glory* one Courage sharpeneth another. In Cases of great Enterprize, upon charge and Adventure, a Composition of *Glorious* Natures doth put Life into Business; and those that are of Solid and sober Natures, have more of the Ballast, than of the Sail. In Fame of Learning, the Flight will be slow, without some Feathers of *Ostentation*. *Qui de contemnendâ Gloriâ Libros scribunt, Nomen suum inscribunt.* Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were Men full of *Ostentation*. Certainly *Vain Glory* helpeth to perpetuate a Man's Memory; and Virtue was never so beholden to human Nature, as it received his due at the Second Hand. Neither had the Fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her Age so well, if it had not been joined with some *Vanity* in themselves: Like unto Varnish, that makes Ceilings not only shine, but last. But all this while, when I speak of *Vain Glory*, I mean not of that Property, that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus; *Omnium, quæ dixerat, feceratque, Arte quâdam Ostentator*: For that proceeds not of *Vanity*, but of natural Magnanimity, and Discretion: And in some Persons, is not only comely, but gracious. For Excusations, Cessions, Modesty itself well governed, are but Arts of *Ostentation*. And amongst those Arts, there is

none better, than that which *Plinius Secundus* speaketh of; which is to be liberal of Praise and Commendation to others, in that, wherein a Man's Self hath any Perfection. For saith *Pliny* very wittily; *In commending another, you do yourself right; for he that you commend, is either superior to you, in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more: If he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.* Glorious Men are the Scorn of wise Men; the Admiration of Fools; the Idols of Parasites; and the Slaves of their own Vaunts.

LV. Of Honour and Reputation.



HE winning of *Honour*, is but the revealing of a Man's Virtue and Worth, without Disadvantage. For some in their Actions, do Woo and affect *Honour*, and *Reputation*: Which Sort of Men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their Virtue in the Shew of it; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a Man perform that which hath not been attempted before; or attempted and given over; or hath been achieved, but not with so good Circumstance; he shall purchase more *Honour*, than by

Effecting a Matter of greater Difficulty, or Virtue, wherein he is but a Follower. If a Man so temper his Actions, as in some one of them, he doth content every Faction, or Combination of People, the Musick will be the fuller. A Man is an ill Husband of his *Honour*, that entereth into any Action, the Failing wherein may disgrace him more, than the Carrying of it through can *Honour* him. *Honour*, that is gained and broken upon another, hath the quickest Reflection; like Diamonds cut with Facets. And therefore, let a Man contend, to excel any Competitors of his in *Honour*, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own Bow. Discreet Followers and Servants help much to *Reputation*: *Omnis Fama à Domesticis emanat*. Envy, which is the Canker of *Honour*, is best extinguished, by declaring a Man's Self, in his Ends, rather to seek Merit, than Fame: And by Attributing a Man's Successes, rather to divine Providence and Felicity, than to his own Virtue or Policy. The true marshalling of the Degrees of *Sovereign Honour* are these. In the First Place are *Conditores Imperiorum; Founders of States*, and *Commonwealths*: Such as were *Romulus*, *Cyrus*, *Cæsar*, *Ottoman*, *Ismael*. In the Second Place are *Legis-latores*, *Lawgivers*; which are also called, *Second Founders*, or *Perpetui Principes*, because they govern by their Ordinances, after they are gone: Such were *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Justinian*, *Edgar*, *Alphonfus of Castile* the Wise, that made the *Siete Partidas*. In the Third Place, are *Libera-*

tores, or *Salvatores*: Such as compound the long Miseries of civil Wars, or deliver their Countries from Servitude of Strangers, or Tyrants; as *Augustus Cæsar*, *Vespasianus*, *Aurelianus*, *Theodoricus*, King *Henry* the Seventh of *England*, King *Henry* the Fourth of *France*. In the Fourth Place, are *Propagatores* or *Propugnatores Imperii*; such as in honourable Wars enlarge their Territories, or make noble Defence against Invaders. And in the Last Place are *Patres Patriæ*; which reign justly, and make the Times good, wherein they live. Both which last Kinds, need no examples, they are in such Number. Degrees of *Honour* in *Subjects* are; first, *Participes Curarum*; those upon whom Princes do discharge the greatest Weight of their Affairs; their *Right Hands*, as we call them. The next are, *Duces Belli*, *Great Leaders*; such as are Princes' Lieutenants, and do them notable Services in the Wars. The third are, *Gratiosi*; *Favourites*; such as exceed not this Scantling; to be Solace to the Sovereign, and harmless to the People. And the fourth, *Negotiis pares*; such as have great Places under Princes, and execute their Places with Sufficiency. There is an *Honour* likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely: That is, of such as *Sacrifice themselves*, to *Death* or *Danger*, for the *Good* of their *Country*: As was *M. Regulus*, and the two *Decii*.

LVI. Of Judicature.



UDGES ought to remember, that their Office is *Jus dicere*, and not *Jus dare*; to interpret Law, and not to make Law, or give Law. Else will it be like the Authority, claimed by the Church of Rome; which under pretext of Exposition of Scripture, doth not stick to add and alter; and to pronounce that, which they do not find; and by *Shew* of Antiquity, to introduce Novelty. Judges ought to be more learned, than witty; more reverend, than plausible; and more advised; than confident. Above all Things, Integrity is their Portion, and proper Virtue. Cursed (saith the Law) is he that removeth the Landmark. The Mislayer of a mere Stone is to blame. But it is the Unjust Judge, that is the capital Remover of Landmarks, when he defineth amiss of Lands and Property. One foul Sentence doth more Hurt, than many foul Examples. For these do but corrupt the Stream; The other corrupteth the Fountain. So saith Solomon; *Fons turbatus, et Vena corrupta, est Justus cadens in causâ suâ coram Adversario*. The Office of Judges, may have Reference, unto the Parties that sue; unto the Advocates that plead; unto the Clerks and Ministers of Justice underneath them; and to the Sovereign or State above them.

First, for the *Causes* or *Parties that sue*. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn Judgment into Wormwood*; and surely, there be also, that turn it into *Vinegar*; for Injustice maketh it bitter, and Delays make it sour. The principal Duty of a *Judge*, is to suppress Force and Fraud; whereof Force is the more pernicious, when it is open; and Fraud, when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious Suits, which ought to be speeded out, as the Surfeit of Courts. A *Judge* ought to prepare his Way to a just Sentence, as *God* useth to prepare his Way, by *raising Valleys*, and *taking down Hills*: So when there appeareth on either side a high Hand; violent Prosecution, cunning Advantages taken, Combination, Power, great Counsel, then is the Virtue of a *Judge* seen, to make Inequality equal; that he may plant his *Judgment*, as upon an even Ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit Sanguinem*; and where the Wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh Wine, that tastes of the Grape-stone. *Judges* must beware of hard Constructions, and strained Inferences; for there is no worse Torture, than the Torture of Laws. Specially in case of Laws penal, they ought to have Care, that that which was meant for Terror, be not turned into Rigour; and that they bring not upon the People, that Shower, whereof the Scripture speaketh; *Pluet super eos Laqueos*: For penal Laws pressed, are a *Shower of Snares* upon the People, Therefore, let *penal Laws*, if they have been Sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for

the present Time, be by wise *Judges* confined in the Execution; *Judicis Officium est, ut Res, ita Tempora Rerum, &c.* In *Causes* of Life and Death, *Judges* ought (as far as the Law permitteth) in Justice to remember Mercy; and to cast a severe Eye upon the Example, but a merciful Eye upon the Person.

Secondly, for the *Advocates* and *Counsel* that plead: Patience and Gravity of hearing, is an essential Part of Justice; and an over-speaking *Judge* is no *well-tuned Cymbal*. It is no Grace to a *Judge*, first to find that which he might have heard, in due time, from the Bar; or to shew Quickness of Conceit in cutting off Evidence or Counsel too short; or to prevent Information, by Questions though pertinent. The Parts of a *Judge* in hearing are Four: To direct the Evidence; to moderate Length, Repetition, or Impertinency of Speech; to recapitulate, select, and collate, the material Points of that which hath been said; and to give the Rule or Sentence. Whatsoever is above these, is too much; and proceedeth, either of Glory and willingness to speak; or of Impatience to hear; or of Shortness of Memory; or of Want of a steady and equal Attention. It is a strange Thing to see, that the Boldness of *Advocates* should prevail with *Judges*; whereas they should imitate God, in whose Seat they sit; who *represseth the Presumptuous*, and *giveth Grace to the Modest*. But it is more strange, that *Judges* should have noted Favourites; which cannot but cause Multiplication of Fees, and Suspicion of By-ways. There is due from

the *Judge*, to the *Advocate*, some Commendation and Gracing, where *Causés* are well handled, and fair pleaded; especially towards the Side which obtaineth not; for that upholds, in the *Client*, the Reputation of his *Counsel*, and beats down, in him, the Conceit of his *Cause*. There is likewise due to the *Publick*, a Civil Reprehension of *Advocates*, where there appeareth cunning Counsel, gross Neglect, flight Information, indiscreet Pressing, or an overbold Defence. And let not the *Counsel* at the Bar chop with the *Judge*, nor wind himself into the handling of the *Cause* anew, after the *Judge* hath declared his Sentence: But on the other side, let not the *Judge* meet the *Cause* half way; nor give occasion to the Party to say; *His Counsel or Proofs were not heard*.

Thirdly, for that that concerns *Clerks*, and *Ministers*. The Place of *Justice* is a hallowed Place; and therefore, not only the Bench, but the Footpace, and Precincts, and Purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without Scandal and Corruption. For certainly, *Grapes* (as the *Scripture* saith), *will not be gathered of Thorns or Thistles*: Neither can *Justice* yield her Fruit with sweetness, amongst the Briars and Brambles, of catching and poling *Clerks* and *Ministers*. The Attendance of Courts is subject to Four bad Instruments. First, certain Persons, that are Sowers of Suits; which make the Court swell, and the Country pine. The Second Sort is of those that engage Courts in Quarrels of Jurisdiction, and

are not truly *Amici Curiae*, but *Parasiti Curiae*; in puffing a Court up beyond her bounds, for their own Scraps and Advantage. The Third Sort is of those that may be accounted the Left Hands of Courts; Persons that are full of nimble and sinister Tricks and Shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct Courses of *Courts*, and bring *Justice* into oblique Lines and Labyrinths. And the Fourth is, the Poler and Exacter of Fees; which justifies the Common Resemblance of the *Courts* of *Justice* to the *Bush*, whereunto while the Sheep flies for defence in Weather, he is sure to lose Part of his Fleece. On the other side, an *antient Clerk*, skilful in *Precedents*, wary in *Proceeding*, and understanding in the *Business* of the *Court*, is an excellent Finger of a *Court*; and doth many times point the way to the *Judge* himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the *Sovereign* and *Estate*. *Judges* ought above all to remember the Conclusion of the *Roman Twelve Tables*; *Salus Populi suprema Lex*; and to know, that Laws, except they be in order to that end, are but Things captious, and Oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is a happy Thing in a *State*, when *Kings* and *States* do often consult with *Judges*; and again, when *Judges* do often consult with the *King* and *State*: The one, when there is Matter of Law, intervenient in Business of State; the other, when there is some Consideration of State, intervenient in Matter of Law. For many times, the Things de-

duced to *Judgment* may be *Meum* and *Tuum*, when the Reason and Consequence thereof may trench to Point of Estate: I call Matter of Estate, not only the parts of *Sovereignty*, but whatsoever introduceth any great Alteration, or dangerous Precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great Portion of People. And let no Man weakly conceive, that just Laws, and true Policy, have any *Antipathy*: For they are like the Spirits, and Sinews, that one moves with the other. Let *Judges* also remember, that, *Solomon's Throne* was supported by Lions on both Sides; let them be Lions, but yet Lions under the Throne; being circumspect, that they do not check, or oppose any Points of *Sovereignty*. Let not *Judges* also be so ignorant of their own Right, as to think, there is not left to them, as a principal Part of their Office, a wise Use and application of Laws. For they may remember, what the *Apostle* saith, of a Greater *Law* than theirs; *Nos scimus quia Lex bona est, modò quis eâ utatur legitimè.*

LVII. Of Anger.



O seek to extinguish *Anger* utterly, is but a Bravery of the *Stoicks*. We have better Oracles: *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the Sun go down upon your Anger.* *Anger* must be limited, and confined, both

in Race, and in Time. We will first speak, how the natural Inclination, and Habit, *to be angry*, may be attempered, and calmed. Secondly, how the particular Motions of *Anger* may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing Mischief. Thirdly, how to raise *Anger*, or appease *Anger*, in another.

For the first; there is no other Way, but to meditate and ruminate well, upon the Effects of *Anger*, how it troubles Man's Life. And the best Time to do this, is, to look back upon *Anger*, when the Fit is thoroughly over. *Seneca* saith well; *That Anger is like Ruin, which breaks itself, upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth us; *To possess our Souls in Patience.* Whosoever is out of *Patience*, is out of Possession of his *Soul*. Men must not turn *Bees*;

— *Animasque in vulnere ponunt.*

Anger is certainly a kind of Baseness: As it appears well, in the Weakness of those Subjects, in whom it reigns: Children, Women, Old Folks, Sick Folks. Only Men must beware, that they carry their *Anger* rather with Scorn, than with Fear: So that they may seem rather to be above the Injury, than below it: which is a Thing easily done, if a Man will give Law to himself in it.

For the second Point; the *Causes* and *Motives* of *Anger*, are chiefly three. First, to be too *Sensible* of *Hurt*: For no Man is *angry*, that *feels* not himself hurt: And therefore tender and delicate Persons must needs be oft *angry*: They have so many Things

to trouble them ; which more robust Natures have little Sense of. The next is, the Apprehension and Construction, of the Injury offered, to be, in the Circumstances thereof, full of *Contempt*. For *Contempt* is that which putteth an edge upon *Anger*, as much, or more, than the *Hurt* itself. And therefore, when Men are ingenious in picking out Circumstances of *Contempt*, they do kindle their *Anger* much. Lastly, Opinion of the Touch of a Man's *Reputation*, doth multiply and sharpen *Anger*. Wherein the Remedy is, that a Man should have, as *Consalvo* was wont to say, *Telam Honoris crassiore*. But in all refrainings of *Anger*, it is the best Remedy to win Time ; and to make a Man's self believe, that the Opportunity of his Revenge is not yet come : But that he foresees a Time for it ; and so to still himself in the mean Time, and reserve it.

To contain *Anger* from *Mischief*, though it take hold of a Man, there be two Things, whereof you must have special Caution. The one, of extreme *Bitterness of Words* ; especially if they be aculeate, and proper : For *communia Maledicta* are nothing so much : And again, that in *Anger*, a Man reveal no Secrets : For that makes him not fit for Society. The other, that you do not *peremptorily break off*, in any Business in a *Fit of Anger* : But howsoever you *shew Bitterness*, do not *act* anything that is not revocable.

For *raising* and *appeasing Anger* in another ; It is done chiefly, by *choosing of Times*, when Men

are frowardeſt and worſt diſpoſed, to incenſe them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out, to aggravate the *Contempt*. And the two *Remedies* are by the *Contraries*. The Former, to take good Times, when firſt to relate to a Man, an *angry* Buſineſs: For the firſt Impreſſion is much; and the other is, to ſever, as much as may be, the Conſtruction of the Injury, from the Point of *Contempt*: Imputing it to Miſunderſtanding, Fear, Paſſion, or what you will.

LVIII. Of Viciffitude of Things.



SOLOMON ſaith; *There is no new Thing upon the Earth*. So that as Plato had an Imagination; that all Knowledge was but Remembrance: So Solomon giveth his Sentence; that all Novelty is but Oblivion. Whereby you may ſee, that the River of *Lethe* runneth as well above Ground, as below. There is an abſtruſe Aſtrologer that ſaith; *If it were not for two things, that are Conſtant; (the one is, that the Fixed Stars ever ſtand at like diſtance, one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further aſunder; the other, that the Diurnal Motion perpetually keepeth Time:)* no Individual would laſt one Moment. Certain it is, that the

Matter, is in a perpetual Flux, and never at a Stay. The great Winding-sheets, that bury all Things in Oblivion, are two; *Deluges*, and *Earthquakes*. As for *Conflagrations*, and great *Droughts*, they do not merely dispeople, and destroy. *Phaeton's* Car went but a day. And the *Three Years' Drought*, in the time of *Elias*, was but particular, and left People alive. As for the great *Burnings by Lightnings*, which are often in the *West Indies*, they are but narrow. But in the other two Destructions, by *Deluge*, and *Earthquake*, it is further to be noted, that the Remnant of People, which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous People, that can give no Account of the Time past: So that the Oblivion is all one, as if none had been left. If you consider well, of the People of the *West Indies*, it is very probable that they are a newer, or a younger People, than the People of the Old World. And it is much more likely, that the Destruction, that hath heretofore been there, was not by *Earthquakes*, (as the *Egyptian* Priest told *Solon*, concerning the Island of *Atlantis*; *That it was swallowed by an Earthquake*;) but rather, that it was desolated by a particular *Deluge*. For *Earthquakes* are seldom in those Parts. But on the other side, they have such *pouring Rivers*, as the *Rivers* of *Asia*, and *Africa*, and *Europe*, are but brooks to them. Their *Andes* likewise, or Mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems, that the Remnants of Generation of Men, were, in such a particular *Deluge*,

saved. As for the Observation, that *Machiavel* hath, that the *Jealousy* of *Seets*, doth much extinguish the Memory of Things; traducing *Gregory the Great*, that he did, what in him lay, to extinguish all Heathen Antiquities; I do not find, that those Zeals do any great Effects, nor last long: As it appeared in the Succession of *Sabinian*, who did revive the former Antiquities.

The *Vicissitude* or *Mutations*, in the *Superior Globe*, are no fit Matter, for this present Argument. It may be, *Plato's great Year*, if the World should last so long, would have some Effect; not in renewing the State of like Individuals (for that is the Fume of those, that conceive the Celestial Bodies have more accurate Influences, upon these Things below, than indeed they have) but in gross. *Comets*, out of question, have likewise Power and Effect, over the Gross and Mass of Things: But they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their Journey, than wisely observed in their Effects; specially in their respective Effects; that is, what Kind of *Comet*, for Magnitude, Colour, Version of the Beams, placing in the Region of Heaven, or Lasting, produceth what Kind of Effects.

There is a Toy, which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say, it is observed, in the *Low Countries* (I know not in what Part) that every Five and Thirty Years, the same kind and suit of Years and Weathers, comes about again: As great Frosts, great Wet, great

Droughts, warm Winters, Summers with little Heat, and the like: And they call it the *Prime*. It is a Thing, I do the rather mention, because computing backwards, I have found some Concurrence.

But to leave these Points of *Nature*, and to come to *Men*. The greatest *Vicissitude* of Things amongst *Men*, is the *Vicissitude* of *Seets*, and *Religions*. For those Orbs rule in Men's Minds most. The true *Religion* is *built upon the Rock*; the Rest are tost upon the Waves of Time. To speak therefore, of the *Causes* of new *Seets*; and to give some *Counsel* concerning them; as far, as the Weakness of human Judgment can give stay to so great Revolutions.

When the *Religion* formerly received, is rent by Discords; and when the Holiness of the Professors of *Religion* is decayed, and full of Scandal; and withal the Times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous; you may doubt the springing up of a *New Seet*; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange Spirit, to make himself Author thereof. All which Points held, when *Mahomet* published his *Law*. If a *new Seet* have not two Properties, fear it not: For it will not spread. The one is, the supplanting, or the opposing, of Authority established: For nothing is more Popular than that. The other is, the giving License to Pleasures, and a voluptuous Life. For as for *speculative Heresies* (such as were in ancient Times the *Arians*, and now the *Arminians*) though they work mightily upon Men's Wits, yet they do not produce any great Alterations in

States ; except it be by the Help of civil Occasions. There be three Manner of Plantations of *new Sects*. By the Power of *Signs* and *Miracles* : By the *Eloquence* and *Wisdom* of *Speech* and *Persuasion* : And by the *Sword*. For *Martyrdoms*, I reckon them amongst *Miracles* ; because they seem to exceed the Strength of human Nature : and I may do the like of *superlative* and *admirable Holiness* of *Life*. Surely, there is no better Way, to stop the rising of *new Sects*, and *Schisms* ; than to reform Abuses ; to compound the smaller Differences ; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary Persecutions ; and rather to take off the principal Authors, by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by Violence and Bitterness.

The *Changes* and *Vicissitude* in *Wars* are many : But chiefly in three Things ; in the *Seats* or *Stages* of the *War* ; in the *Weapons* ; and in the *Manner* of the *Conduct*. *Wars* in ancient Time seemed more to move from *East* to *West* : For the *Persians*, *Affyrians*, *Arabians*, *Tartars* (which were the Invaders), were all Eastern People. It is true, the *Gauls* were Western ; but we read but of two Incursions of theirs ; the one to *Gallo-Grecia*, the other to *Rome*. But *East* and *West* have no certain Points of Heaven : And no more have the *Wars*, either from the *East*, or *West*, any certainty of observation. But *North* and *South* are fixed : And it hath seldom or never been seen, that the far Southern People have invaded the Northern, but contrariwise.

Whereby it is manifest, that the *Northern Tract* of the World is in Nature the more martial Region : Be it, in respect of the Stars of that Hemisphere ; or of the great Continents that are upon the *North*, whereas the *South Part*, for ought that is known, is almost all Sea ; or (which is most apparent) of the Cold of the *Northern* Parts, which is that, which without Aid of Discipline, doth make the Bodies hardest, and the Courages warmest.

Upon the *breaking* and *shivering* of a great *State* and *Empire*, you may be sure to have *Wars*. For great Empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the Forces of the Natives, which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting Forces : And then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a Prey. So was it, in the Decay of the *Roman Empire* ; and likewise, in the *Empire* of *Almaigne*, after *Charles* the Great, every Bird taking a Feather ; and were not unlike to befall to *Spain*, if it should break. The great *Accessions* and *Unions* of *Kingdoms*, do likewise stir up *Wars*. For when a State grows to an Over-power, it is like a great Flood, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen, in the States of *Rome*, *Turkey*, *Spain*, and others. Look when the World hath fewest *barbarous Peoples*, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live ; (as it is almost every where at this day, except *Tartary*) there is no Danger of Inundations of People : But when there be great *Schools* of *People*, which go on

to populate, without foreseeing Means of Life and Sustentation, it is of Necessity, that once in an Age or two, they discharge a Portion of their People upon other Nations : Which the ancient *Northern People* were wont to do by Lot : casting Lots, what Part should stay at home, and what should seek their Fortunes. When a *Warlike State* grows *soft* and *effeminate*, they may be sure of a *War*. For commonly such States are grown rich, in the time of their degenerating ; and so the Prey inviteth, and their Decay in Valour encourageth a War.

As for the *Weapons*, it hardly falleth under Rule and Observation : yet we see, even they have *Returns* and *Vicissitudes*. For certain it is, that *Ordnance* was known in the City of the *Oxidrakes* in *India* ; and was that which the *Macedonians* called Thunder and Lightning, and Magic. And it is well known, that the use of *Ordnance* hath been in *China*, above two thousand Years. The Conditions of *Weapons*, and their Improvement are ; First, the Fetching afar off : For that outruns the Danger : As it is seen in *Ordnance* and *Muskets*. Secondly, the Strength of the Percussion, wherein likewise *Ordnance* do exceed all Arietations, and ancient Inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them : As that they may serve in all Weathers ; that the Carriage may be light and manageable ; and the like.

For the *Conduet* of the *War* : At the first, Men rested extremely upon *Number* : They did put the Wars likewise upon *main Force*, and *Valour* ; point-

ing Days for pitched Fields, and so trying it out, upon an even Match : and they were more ignorant in *ranging* and *arraying* their *Battles*. After they grew to rest upon *Number*, rather Competent, than Vast : They grew to *Advantages* of *Place*, *cunning Diversions*, and the like : And they grew more skilful in the *ordering* of their *Battles*.

In the *Youth* of a *State*, *Arms* do flourish : In the *Middle Age* of a *State*, *Learning* ; and then both of them together for a time : In the *Declining Age* of a *State*, *mechanical Arts* and *Merchandize*. *Learning* hath his Infancy, when it is but beginning, and almost childish : Then his Youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile : Then his Strength of Years, when it is solid and reduced : And lastly, his old Age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. But it is not good, to look too long, upon these turning Wheels of *Vicissitude*, lest we become giddy. As for the *Philology* of them, that is but a Circle of Tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

APPENDIX TO ESSAYS.

I. A Fragment of an Essay of
Fame.*

THE Poets make *Fame* a Monster: they describe her in part finely and elegantly, and in part gravely and sententiously: They say, Look how many Feathers she hath, so many Eyes she hath underneath, so many Tongues, so many Voices, she pricks up so many Ears.

This is a flourish; there follow excellent Parables; as that she gathereth Strength in going; that she goeth upon the Ground, and yet hideth her Head in the Clouds; that in the day-time she sitteth in a Watch-tower, and flyeth most by night; that she mingleth Things done with Things not done; and that she is a Terror to great Cities; but that which passeth all the rest is, they do recount that the *Earth*, mother of the Giants that made war against *Jupiter*, and were by him destroyed, thereupon in anger

* Published by *Dr. Rawley* in his *Resuscitatio*.

brought forth *Fame* ; for certain it is, that Rebels, figured by the Giants and seditious Fames and Libels, are but Brothers and Sisters, masculine and feminine : But now if a Man can tame this Monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening Fowl, and kill them, it is somewhat worth : But we are infected with the Style of the Poets. To speak now in a sad and serious Manner, there is not in all the Politics a Place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of Fame : we will therefore speak of these points : What are false Fames ; and what are true Fames ; and how they may be best discerned ; how Fames may be sown and raised ; how they may be spread and multiplied ; and how they may be checked and laid dead ; and other things concerning the nature of Fame. Fame is of that Force, as there is scarcely any great Action wherein it hath not a great Part, especially in the War. *Mucianus* undid *Vitellius* by a Fame that he scattered, that *Vitellius* had in Purpose to remove the Legions of *Syria* into *Germany*, and the Legions of *Germany* into *Syria* ; whereupon the Legions of *Syria* were infinitely inflamed. *Julius Cæsar* took *Pompey* unprovided ; and laid asleep his Industry and Preparations by a Fame that he cunningly gave out, how *Cæsar's* own Soldiers loved him not ; and being wearied with the Wars, and laden with the Spoils of *Gaul*, would forsake him as soon as he came into *Italy*. *Livia* settled all things for the succession of her Son *Tiberius*, by continual

giving out that her Husband *Augustus* was upon Recovery and Amendment; and it is a usual thing with the Bashaws, to conceal the Death of the Great *Turk* from the *Janizaries* and Men of War, to save the Sacking of *Constantinople*, and other Towns, as their manner is. *Themistocles* made *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, post apace out of *Græcia*, by giving out that the *Grecians* had a Purpose to break his Bridge of Ships which he had made athwart *Hellepont*. There be a thousand such like Examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated, because a man meeteth with them every where: therefore let all wise Governors have as great a Watch and Care over Fames, as they have of the Actions and Designs themselves.

[*The Rest was not finished.*]

II. Of a King.

I.



KING is a Mortal God on Earth, unto whom the living *God* hath lent his own Name as a great Honour; but withal told him, he should die like a Man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself, that *God* hath with his Name imparted unto him his Nature also.

2. Of all kind of Men, *God* is the least beholden

unto them ; for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A *King* that would not feel his Crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day ; but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what Metal it is made.

4. He must make Religion the Rule of Government, and not to balance the Scale ; for he that casteth in Religion only to make the Scales even, his own weight is contained in those Characters, “ Mene, mene, tekem, upharfin, He is found too light, his Kingdom shall be taken from him.”

5. And that *King* that holds not Religion the best Reason of State, is void of all Piety and Justice, the Supporters of a King.

6. He must be able to give Counsel himself, but not rely thereupon ; for though happy Events justify their Counsels, yet it is better that the evil Event of good Advice be rather imputed to a Subject than a Sovereign.

7. He is the Fountain of Honour, which should not run with a waste Pipe, lest the Courtiers sell the Water, and then, as Papists say of their holy Wells, it loses the Virtue.

8. He is the Life of the Law, not only as he is *lex loquens* himself, but because he animateth the dead Letter, making it active towards all his Subjects *præmio et pœna*.

9. A wise King must do less in altering his Laws than he may ; for new Government is ever dangerous.

It being true in the Body Politic, as in the Corporal, that *omnis subita immutatio est periculosa* ; and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearful Apprehension ; for he that changeth the Fundamental Laws of a Kingdom, thinketh there is no good Title to a Crown, but by Conquest.

10. A *King* that setteth to Sale Seats of Justice, oppresseth the People ; for he teacheth his Judges to sell Justice ; and *pretio parata pretio venditur justitia*.

11. Bounty and Magnificence are Virtues very regal, but a prodigal King is nearer a Tyrant than a Parsimonious ; for Store at home draweth not his Contemplations abroad : but Want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way : a King herein must be wise, and know what he may justly do.

12. That *King* which is not feared, is not loved ; and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved ; yet not loved for Fear, but feared for Love.

13. Therefore, as he must always resemble Him whose great Name he beareth, and that as in manifesting the sweet Influence of his Mercy on the severe Stroke of his Justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a Man of Death to live ; for besides that the Land doth mourn, the Restraint of Justice towards Sin doth more retard the affection of Love, than the extent of Mercy doth inflame it : and sure where Love is [ill] bestowed, Fear is quite lost.

14. His greatest Enemies are his Flatterers ; for though they ever speak on his side, yet their Words still make against him.

15. The Love which a *King* oweth to a Weal Public, should not be overstrained to any one particular ; yet that his more special Favour do reflect upon some worthy Ones is somewhat necessary, because there are few of that capacity.

16. He must have a special Care of five Things, if he would not have his Crown to be but to him *infelix Felicitas*.

First, that *simulata Sanctitas* be not in the Church ; for that is *duplex iniquitas*.

Secondly, that *inutilis Æquitas* sit not in the Chancery ; for that is *inepta Misericordia*.

Thirdly, that *utilis Iniquitas* keep not the Exchequer : for that is *crudele latrocinium*.

Fourthly, that *fidelis Temeritas* be not his General ; for that will bring but *seram Pœnitentiam*.

Fifthly, that *infidelis Prudentia* be not his Secretary ; for that is *anguis sub viridi herba*.

To conclude : as he is of the greatest Power, so he is subject to the greatest Cares, made the Servant of his People, or else he were without a Calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not is next an Atheist, wanting the Fear of *God* in his Heart.

III. An Essay on Death.



HAVE often thought upon *Death*, and I find it the least of all Evils. All that which is past is as a Dream; and he that hopes or depends upon Time coming, dreams waking. So much of our Life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those Hours which we share, even from the breasts of our Mother, until we return to our Grandmother, the Earth, are part of our dying Days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature, for we die daily; and as Others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to Others. *Physicians*, in the name of Death include all Sorrow, Anguish, Disease, Calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the Life of Man, either grievous or unwelcome: But these Things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it. I know many wise Men that fear to die, for the Change is bitter, and Flesh would refuse to prove it: besides the Expectation brings Terror, and that exceeds the Evil. But I do not believe, that any Man fears to be dead, but only the *Stroke* of Death: and such are my Hopes, that if *Heaven* be pleased, and Nature renew but my Lease for twenty-one Years more, without asking

longer Days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning that I was begotten mortal. *Virtue* walks not in the Highway, though she go *per alta*; this is Strength and the Blood to Virtue, to condemn Things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

4. Why should Man be in love with his Fetters, though of Gold? Art thou drowned in Security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy Soul is buried within thee, and thy good Angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is Nothing under Heaven, saving a true Friend, who cannot be counted within the number of Moveables, unto which my Heart doth lean. And this dear Freedom hath begotten me this Peace, that I mourn not for that End which must be, nor spend one Wish to have one Minute added to the incertain Date of my Years. It was no mean Apprehension of *Lucian*, who says of *Menippus*, that in his Travels through *Hell* he knew not the Kings of the Earth from other Men, but only by their louder Cryings and Tears: Which was fostered in them through the remorseful Memory of the good Days they had seen, and the fruitful Havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: He that was well seated, looked back at his Portion, and was loth to forsake his Farm; and Others, either minding Marriages, Pleasures, Profit, or Preferment, desired to be excused from *Death's* Banquet: they had made an Appointment with *Earth*, looking at the Blessings, not the Hand

that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked Ornaments they were arrayed.

5. But were we Servants of the Precept given, and Observers of the *Heathens'* rule, *memento mori*, and not become benighted with this seeming Felicity, we should enjoy it as Men prepared to lose, and not wind up our Thoughts upon so perishing a Fortune : he that is not slackly strong, as the Servants of Pleasure, how can he be found unready to quit the Veil and false Visage of his Perfection ? The Soul, having shaken off her Flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning Things that are under, shews what Finger hath enforced her ; for the Souls of Idiots are of the same piece with those of Statesmen, but now and then Nature is at a fault, and this good Guest of ours takes Soil in an imperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her Wonders ; like an excellent Musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective Instrument.

6. But see how I am swerved, and lose my Course, touching at the Soul, that doth least hold Action with *Death*, who hath the surest Property in this frail Act ; his Stile is the End of all Flesh, and the Beginning of Incorruption.

This Ruler of Monuments leads Men for the most part out of this World with their Heels forward ; in token that he is contrary to Life ; which being obtained, sends Men headlong into this wretched Theatre, where being arrived, their first language is

that of Mourning. Nor in my own Thoughts, can I compare Men more fitly to any thing, than to the *Indian* Fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his Branches down to the Earth; whereof she conceives again, and they become Roots in their own stock.

So Man having derived his Being from the Earth, first lives the Life of a Tree, drawing his Nourishment as a Plant, and made ripe for Death, he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his Mother the Earth; where he perissheth not, but expects a quickening.

7. So we see Death exempts not a Man from Being, but only presents an Alteration; yet there are some Men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. *Death* finds not a worse Friend than an *Alderman*, to whose Door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate Guest, and will not be said *Nay*.

And though they themselves shall affirm, that they are not within, yet the Answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their Fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their Flesh, but are not wise of the Payment-day: which sickly Uncertainty is the Occasion that, for the most part, they step out of this World unfurnished for their general Account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their Gravity, preparing their Souls to answer in Scarlet.

Thus I gather, that Death is unagreeable to most

Citizens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a Rule, that when their Will is made, they think themselves nearer a Grave than before: now they out of the Wisdom of thousands, think to scare Destiny from which there is no Appeal, by not making a Will, or to live longer by Protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this World, accounting their Treasure by Legions, as Men do Devils, their Fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire, if it be possible, to put the evil Day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing Period.

No, these are not the Men which have bespoken *Death*, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

8. *Death* arrives gracious only to such as sit in Darkness, or lie heavy burned with Grief and Irons; to the poor *Christian*, that sits bound in the Galley; to despairful Widows, pensive Prisoners, and deposed Kings: To them whose Fortune runs back, and whose Spirits mutiny; unto such *Death* is a Redeemer, and the Grave a place for Retiredness and Rest.

These wait upon the Shore of *Death*, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others to see his Star, that they might be led to his Place, wooing the remorseless Sisters to wind down the Watch of their Life, and to break them off before the Hour.

9. But *Death* is a doleful Messenger to a Ufurer, and *Fate* ultimately cuts their Thread : for it is never mentioned by him, but when Rumours of War and civil Tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many Hands are armed, and the Peace of a City in disorder, and the Foot of the common Soldiers sounds an Alarm on his Stairs, then perhaps such a One, broken in thoughts of his Monies abroad, and cursing the Monuments of Coin which are in his house, can be content to think of *Death*, and, being hasty of Perdition, will perhaps hang himself lest his throat should be cut ; provided that he may do it in his Study, surrounded with Wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing Salute, even upon the turning off ; remembering always, that he have Time and Liberty by writing, to depute himself as his own heir.

For that is a great Peace to his End, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

10. Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without Proof of Necessity. I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain Glory, and I hold such to be but Feat-boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think Nature should do me great Wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.

To speak truth, no Man knows the Limits of his own Patience ; nor can divine how able he shall be in his Sufferings, till the Storm come ; the perfectest Virtue being tried in Action : but I would out of a

Care to do the best Business well, ever keep a Guard, and stand upon keeping Faith and a good Conscience.

11. And if Wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my Mind often, and my Body once; that is, I would prepare for the Messengers of Death, Sicknes, and Affliction, and not wait long, or be attempted by the Violence of Pain.

Herein I do not profess myself a *Stoic*, to hold Grief no Evil, but Opinion, and a Thing indifferent.

But I consent with *Cæsar*, that the suddenest Passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our Resolve and Readiness to die, than the quieted Conscience, strengthened with Opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon Earth by those that are just, and of the Family of Virtue; the opposite whereof is a Fury to Man, and makes even Life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil Fame deserved? Or, likewise, who can see worse Days, than he that yet living doth follow at the Funerals of his own Reputation?

I have laid up many Hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of Mourning, and could wish the like Peace to all those, with whom I wage love.

12. I might say much of the Commodities that *Death* can sell a Man; but briefly, *Death* is a Friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at Home. Whilst I am, my Ambition is not to foreflow the Tide; I have but so to make my Interest of it, as I may account for it; I would wish Nothing but what might better my Days, nor desire any greater

Place than the Front of good Opinion. I make not Love to the Continuance of Days, but to the Goodness of them ; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my Hour, which the great *Dispenser* of all Things hath appointed me ; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first Fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the Evening of my Age ; that Extremity of itself being a Disease, and a mere Return into Infancy ; so that if Perpetuity of Life might be given me, I should think what the *Greek* Poet said, “ Such an age is a mortal Evil.” And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine Enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold ; but before my Friends. The Night was even now ; but that Name is lost ; it is not now late, but early. Mine Eyes begin to discharge their Watch, and compound with this fleshly Weakness for a Time of perpetual Rest ; and I shall presently be as happy for a few Hours, as I had died the first Hour I was born.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

Written in *Latin* by the Right Honourable Sir FRANCIS BACON, Knight,
Baron of *Verulam*, and Lord
Chancellor of *England*.

Done into *English* by Sir ARTHUR GORGES,
Knight.



THE PREFACE.



THE Antiquities of the first Age (except those we find in Sacred Writ) were buried in Oblivion and Silence : Silence was succeeded by Poetical Fables ; and Fables again were followed by the Records we now enjoy. So that the Mysteries and Secrets of Antiquity were distinguished and separated from the Records and Evidences of succeeding Times by the Veil of Fiction, which interposed itself, and came between those Things which Perished, and those which are Extant. I suppose some are of Opinion, that my Purpose is to write Toys and Trifles, and to usurp the same Liberty in applying, that the Poets assumed in feigning, which I might do (I confess) if I listed, and with more serious Contemplation intermix these Things, to delight either myself in Meditation, or others in Reading. Neither am I ignorant how Fickle and Inconstant a Thing Fiction is, as being subject to be drawn and wrested any way, and how great the commodity of Wit and Discourse is, that is able to apply Things well, yet so as never meant by the first Authors. But I remember that

this Liberty hath been lately much abused, in that many, to purchase the Reverence of Antiquity to their own Inventions and Fancies, have for the same Intent laboured to wrest many Poetical Fables: Neither hath this old and common Vanity been used only of late, or now and then: For even Chrysippus long ago did (as an Interpreter of Dreams) ascribe the Opinions of the Stoicks to the Ancient Poets; and more sottishly do the Chemists appropriate the Fancies and Delights of Poets in the Transformation of Bodies, to the Experiments of their Furnace. All these Things, I say, I have sufficiently considered and weighed, and in them have seen and noted the general Levity and Indulgence of Men's Wits above Allegories; and yet for all this I relinquish not my Opinion.

For first it may not be, that the Folly and Looseness of a few should altogether detract from the respect due to the Parables: For that were a Conceit which might savour of Profaneness and Presumption: For Religion itself doth sometimes delight in such Veils and Shadows: So that who so Exempts them, seems in a manner to interdict all Commerce between Things Divine and Human. But concerning Human Wisdom, I do indeed ingenuously and freely confess, that I am inclined to imagine, that under some of the Ancient Fictions lay couched certain Mysteries and Allegories, even from their first Invention. And I am persuaded (whether ravished with the Reverence of Antiquity, or because in some Fables I find

*such singular Proportion between the Similitude and the Thing signified; and such apt and clear coher-
ence in the very Structure of them, and propriety of
Names wherewith the Persons or Actors in them are
inscribed and entitled) that no Man can constantly
deny, but this Sense was in the Authors' Intent and
Meaning, when they first invented them, and that
they purposely shadowed it in this sort: For who can
be so Stupid and Blind in the open Light, as (when
he hears how Fame, after the Giants were destroyed,
sprang up as their youngest Sister) not to refer it to
the Murmurs and Seditious Reports of both sides,
which are wont to fly abroad for a time after the
suppressing of Insurrections? Or when he hears
how the Giant Typhon, having cut out and brought
away Jupiter's Nerves, which Mercury stole from
him, and restored again to Jupiter; doth not presently
perceive how fitly it may be applied to powerful Re-
bellions, which take from Princes their Sinews of
Money and Authority; but so that by affability of
Speech, and wise Edicts (the Minds of their Subjects
being in time, privily, and as it were by stealth re-
conciled) they recover their Strength again? Or
when he hears how (in that memorable Expedition of
the Gods against the Giants) the braying of Silenus's
Ass, conduced much to the profligation of the Giants,
doth not confidently imagine that it was invented to
shew how the greatest Enterprizes of Rebels are
oftentimes dispersed with vain Rumours and Fears.*

Moreover, to what Judgment can the Conformity

and Signification of Names seem obscure? Seeing Metis, the Wife of Jupiter, doth plainly signify Counsel: Typhon, Insurrection: Pan, Universality: Nemesis, Revenge, and the like: Neither let it trouble any Man, if sometimes he meet with Historical Narrations, or Additions for Ornament's sake, or confusion of Times, or something transferred from one Fable to another, to bring in a new Allegory: For it could be no otherwise, seeing they were the Inventions of Men, which lived in diverse Ages, and had also diverse Ends: Some being ancient, others neoterical; some have an Eye to Things Natural, others to Moral.

There is another Argument, and that no small one neither, to prove that these Fables contain certain hidden, and involved Meanings, seeing some of them are observed to be so absurd, and foolish in the very relation that they shew, and as it were proclaim a Parable afar off: For such Tales as are probable, they may seem to be invented for delight, and in imitation of History. And as for such as no Man would so much as imagine or relate, they seem to be sought out for other Ends: For what kind of Fiction is that, wherein Jupiter is said to have taken Metis to Wife; and, perceiving that she was with Child, to have devoured her; whence himself conceiving, brought forth Pallas armed, out of his Head? Truly, I think there was never Dream (so different to the course of Cogitation, and so full of Monstrosity,) ever hatched in the Brain of Man. Above all Things, this pre-

travails most with me and is of singular Moment ; many of these Fables seem not to be invented of those by whom they are related, and celebrated, as by Homer, Hesiod and others. For if it were so, that they took beginning in that Age, and from those Authors by whom they are delivered, and brought to our Hands : My Mind gives me, there could be no great or high Matter expected, or supposed to proceed from them in respect of these Originals. But if with attention we consider the Matter, it will appear, that they were delivered, and related as Things formerly believed, and received, and not as newly invented, and offered unto us. Besides, seeing they are diversly related by Writers that lived near about one and the self-same time, we may easily perceive that they were common Things, derived from precedent Memorials ; and that they became various, by reason of the divers Ornaments bestowed on them by particular Relations : And the consideration of this must needs increase in us a great Opinion of them, as not to be accounted either the effects of the Time, or inventions of the Poets, but as sacred Relicks, or abstracted Airs of better Times, which by Tradition from more Ancient Nations, fell into the Trumpets and Flutes of the Græcians. But if any do obstinately contend, That Allegories are always adventitiously, and as it were by Constraint, never naturally, and properly included in Fables, we will not be much troublesome, but suffer them to enjoy that gravity of Judgment, which I am sure they affect, although indeed it be but Lumpish,

and almost Leaden. And (if they be worthy to be taken notice of,) we will begin afresh with them in some other Fashion.

There is found among Men, (and it goes for current,) a twofold use of Parables, and those, (which is more to be admired) referred to contrary Ends; conducing as well to the folding up, and keeping of Things under a Veil, as to the enlightening and laying open of Obscurities. But omitting the former, (rather than to undergo wrangling, and assuming ancient Fables as Things vagrant, and composed only for Delight,) the latter must questionless still remain as not to be wrested from us by any violence of Wit, neither can any (that is but meanly Learned) hinder; but it must absolutely be received, as a Thing grave, and sober, free from all vanity, and exceeding profitable, and necessary to all Sciences. This is it, I say, that leads the Understanding of Man by an easy and gentle Passage through all novel and abstruse Inventions, which any way differ from common received Opinions. Therefore in the first Ages (when many human Inventions and Conclusions which are now common, and vulgar, were new, and not generally known,) all Things were full of Fables, Enigmas, Parables, and Similes of all sorts: By which they sought to teach, and lay open, not to hide and conceal Knowledge; especially seeing the Understandings of Men were in those Times rude and impatient, and almost incapable of any Subtilties; such Things only excepted, as were the Object of Sense, for as Hiero-

glyphicks preceded Letters, so Parables were more ancient than Arguments. And in those Days also, he that would illuminate Men's Minds anew in any old Matter, and that not with disprofit, and harshness, must absolutely take the same Course, and use the help of Similes. Wherefore after all that hath been said, we must thus conclude : The Wisdom of the Ancients, it was either much, or happy : Much, if these Figures and Tropes were invented by Study and Pre-meditation ; Happy, if they (intending nothing less) gave Matter, and Occasion to so many worthy Meditations. As concerning my Labours, (if there be any Thing in them which may do good,) I will on neither part count them ill bestowed, my purpose being to illustrate either Antiquity, or Things themselves. Neither am I ignorant that this very Subject hath been attempted by others : But to speak as I think, and that freely without Ostentation, the Dignity and Efficacy of the Thing, is almost lost by these Men's Writings, though voluminous, and full of Pains, whilst not diving into the depth of Matters, but skilful only in certain common Places, have applied the Sense of these Parables to certain vulgar, and general Things, not so much as glancing at their true Virtue, genuine Propriety, and full Depth. I (if I be not deceived,) shall be new in common Things. Wherefore leaving such as are plain and open, I will aim at farther and richer Matters.



THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS.

I. Cassandra, or Divination.



He *Poets* Fable, that *Apollo* being enamoured of *Cassandra*, was by her many Shifts and cunning Sleights still deluded in his Desire; but yet fed on with hope, until such time as she had drawn from him the Gift of Prophefying; and having by such her Dissimulation, in the end, attained to that which from the beginning she sought after; at last, flatly rejected his Suit. Who finding himself so far engaged in his Promise, as that he could not by any means revoke again his rash Gift, and yet inflamed with an earnest desire of Revenge, highly disdaining to be made the scorn of a crafty Wench, annexed a Penalty to his Promise, *viz.* that she should ever foretell the Truth, but never be believed: So were her Divinations always faithful, but at no time regarded;

whereof she still found the Experience, yea, even in the ruin of her own Country, which she had often forewarned them of; but they neither gave Credit nor Ear to her Words. This Fable seems to intimate the unprofitable Liberty of untimely Admonitions and Counsels: For they that are so over-weened with the sharpness and dexterity of their own Wit and Capacity, as that they disdain to submit themselves to the Documents of *Apollo*, the God of Harmony, whereby to learn, and observe the Method and Measure of Affairs, the Grace and Gravity of Discourse, the differences between the more judicious and more vulgar Ears, and the due times when to speak, and when to be silent; be they never so sensible and pregnant, and their Judgments never so profound, and profitable; yet in all their Endeavours either of persuasion, or perforce, they avail nothing, neither are they of any moment to advantage or manage Matters; but do rather hasten on the Ruin of all those that they adhere, or devote themselves unto. And then at last, when Calamity doth make Men feel the event of Neglect, then shall they too late be revered as deep, foreseeing, and faithful Prophets. Whereof a notable Instance is eminently set forth in *Marcus Cato Uticensis*, who, as from a Watchtower, discovered afar off, and, as an Oracle, long foretold the approaching Ruin of his Country, and the plotted Tyranny hovering over the State, both in the first Conspiracy, and as it was prosecuted in the Civil Contention between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and

did no good the while, but rather harmed the Commonwealth, and hastened on his Country's Bane ; which *M. Cicero* wisely observed, and writing to a familiar Friend, doth in these Terms excellently describe, *Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum Reipublicæ : Loquitur enim tanquam in Republica Platonis, non tanquam in sæce Romuli.* *Cato* (saith he) judgeth profoundly, but in the mean time damnifies the State ; for he speaks in the Commonwealth of *Plato*, and not as in the Dregs of *Romulus*.

II. Typhon, or a Rebel.



UNO being vexed (say the Poets) that *Jupiter* had begotten *Pallas* by himself without her, earnestly pressed all the other Gods and Goddeses that she might also bring forth of herself alone without him ; and having by violence, and importunity obtained a Grant thereof, she smote the Earth, and forthwith sprang up *Typhon*, a huge, and horrid Monster : This strange Birth she commits to a Serpent, (as a Foster-Father,) to nourish it ; who no sooner came to ripeness of Years, but he provokes *Jupiter* to Battle : In the Conflict the Giant getting the upper hand, takes *Jupiter* upon his Shoulders, carries him into a remote, and obscure Country, and (cutting out the Sinews of his Hands and Feet) brought them away,

and so left him miserably mangled and maimed. But *Mercury* recovering these Nerves from *Typhon* by stealth, restored them again to *Jupiter*. *Jupiter* being again by this means corroborated, assaults the Monster afresh, and at the first strikes him with a Thunderbolt, from whose Blood Serpents were engendered. This Monster at length fainting, and flying, *Jupiter* casts on him the Mount *Ætna*, and with the Weight thereof crushed him.

This Fable seems to point at the variable Fortune of Princes, and the rebellious insurrection of Traitors in a State: For Princes may well be said to be married to their Dominions, as *Jupiter* was to *Juno*; but it happens now and then, that being deboshed by the long custom of Empiring, and bending towards Tyranny, they endeavour to draw all to themselves, and (contemning the Counsel of their Nobles and Senators) hatch Laws in their own Brain; that is, dispose of Things by their own Fancy, and absolute Power. The People (repining at this) study how to create, and set up a Chief of their own Choice. This Project by the secret instigation of the Peers, and Nobles, doth for the most part take his beginning; by whose Connivance the Commons being set on Edge, there follows a kind of Murmuring, or Discontent in the State, shadowed by the Infancy of *Typhon*, which being nursed by the natural Pravity, and clownish Malignity of the vulgar sort, (unto Princes, as infestuous as Serpents,) is again repaired by a renewed Strength, and at last breaks out into

open Rebellion, which (because it brings infinite Mischiefs upon Prince and People) is represented by the monstrous Deformity of *Typhon*: His hundred Heads signify their divided Powers; his fiery Mouths, their inflamed Intents; his serpentine Circles, their pestilent Malice in besieging; his Iron Hands their merciless Slaughters; his Eagle's Talons, their greedy Rapines; his plumed Body, their continual Rumours, and Scouts, and Fears, and such like; and sometimes these rebellions grow so Potent, that Princes are enforced (transported as it were, by the Rebels, and forsaking the chief Seats and Cities of the Kingdom) to contract their Power, and (being deprived of the Sinews of Money and Majesty,) betake themselves to some remote and obscure Corner within their Dominions: But in process of Time, (if they bear their Misfortunes with Moderation,) they may recover their Strength, by the virtue and industry of *Mercury*; that is, they may (by becoming Affable, and by reconciling the Minds and Wills of their Subjects with grave Edicts, and gracious Speech,) excite an Alacrity to grant Aids, and Subsidies, whereby to strengthen their Authority anew. Nevertheless, having learned to be wise and wary, they will refrain to try the chance of Fortune by War, and yet study how to suppress the Reputation of the Rebels by some famous Action, which if it fall out answerable to their Expectation, the Rebels finding themselves weakened, and fearing the Success of their broken Projects; betake themselves to some flight, and vain

Bravadoes, like the hissing of Serpents, and at length in despair betake themselves to Flight; and then when they begin to break, it is safe and timely for Kings to pursue, and oppress them with the Forces and Weight of the Kingdom, as it were with the Mountain *Ætna*.

III. The Cyclops, or the Ministers of Terror.



They say that the *Cyclops*, for their fierceness, and Cruelty, were by *Jupiter* cast into Hell, and there doomed to perpetual Imprisonment; but *Tellus* persuaded *Jupiter* that it would do well, if being set at liberty, they were put to forge Thunderbolts, which being done accordingly, they became so Painful and Industrious, as that Day and Night they continued Hammering out in laborious Diligence, Thunderbolts, and other Instruments of Terror. In process of time *Jupiter* having conceived a Displeasure against *Æsculapius*, the Son of *Apollo*, for restoring a dead Man to life by Physick; and concealing his Dislike, (because there was no just Cause of Anger, the Deed being pious and famous,) secretly incensed the *Cyclops* against him, who without delay slew him with a Thunderbolt. In revenge of which Act,

Apollo, (*Jupiter* not prohibiting it) Shot them to Death with his Arrows.

This Fable may be applied to the Projects of Kings, who having cruel, bloody, and exacting Officers, do first punish and displace them; afterwards by the Counsel of *Tellus*, that is, of some base, and ignoble Person, and by the prevailing respect of Profit, they admit them into their Places again, that they may have Instruments in a readiness, if at any time there should need either Severity of Execution, or Acerbity of Exaction. These servile Creatures being by Nature Cruel, and by their former Fortune exasperated, and perceiving well what is expected at their Hands, do shew themselves wonderful Officious in such kind of Employments; but being too Rash, and precipitate in seeking Countenance, and creeping into Favour, do sometimes take occasion from the secret Beckonings, and ambiguous Commands of their Prince, to perform some hateful Execution. But Princes (abhorring the Fact, and knowing well, that they shall never want such kind of Instruments,) do utterly forsake them, turning them over to the Friends and Allies of the wronged, to their Accusations and Revenge, and to the general Hatred of the People; so that with great Applause, and prosperous Wishes and Acclamations towards the Prince, they are brought, rather too late, than undeservedly, to a miserable End.

IV. Narcissus ; Or, Self-Love.



HEY say, That *Narcissus* was exceeding Fair and Beautiful, but wonderful Proud and Disdainful ; wherefore despising all others in respect of himself, he leads a solitary Life in the Woods and Chases, with a few Followers, to whom he alone was all in all ; amongst the rest, there follows him the Nymph *Echo*. During his Course of Life, it fatally so chanced, that he came to a clear Fountain, upon the Bank whereof he lay down to repose himself in the Heat of the Day. And having espied the shadow of his own Face in the Water, was so besotted, and ravished with the Contemplation and Admiration thereof, that he by no means possible could be drawn from beholding his Image in this Glass ; insomuch, that by continual gazing thereupon, he pined away to nothing, and was at last turned into a Flower of his own Name, which appears in the beginning of the Spring and is sacred to the infernal Powers, *Pluto*, *Proserpina*, and the *Furies*.

This Fable seems to shew the Dispositions, and Fortunes of those, who in respect either of their Beauty, or other Gift wherewith they are adorned, and graced by Nature, without the help of Industry, are so far besotted in themselves, as that they prove

the Cause of their own Destruction. For it is the property of Men infected with this Humour, not to come much abroad, or to be Conversant in Civil Affairs, especially seeing those that are in publick Place, must of necessity encounter with many Contempts, and Scorns, which may much deject, and trouble their Minds ; and therefore they lead for the most part a solitary, private, and obscure Life, attended on with a few Followers, and those, such as will adore, and admire them, like an *Echo* flatter them in all their Sayings, and applaud them in all their Words. So that being by this Custom seduced and puffed up, and as it were, stupified with the Admiration of themselves, they are possessed with so strange a Sloth and Idleness, that they grow in a manner benumbed, and defective of all Vigour and Alacrity. Elegantly doth this Flower, appearing in the beginning of the Spring, represent the likeness of these Men's Dispositions, who, in their Youth do flourish, and wax famous ; but being come to ripeness of Years, they deceive and frustrate the good Hope that is conceived of them. Neither is it impertinent that this Flower is said to be consecrated to the infernal Deities, because Men of this Disposition become unprofitable to all Human Things : For whatsoever produceth no Fruit of itself, but passeth, and vanisheth as if it had never been, (like the way of a Ship in the Sea,) that the Ancients were wont to dedicate to the Ghosts, and Powers below.

v. Styx, or Leagues.



THE Oath by which the Gods were wont to oblige themselves, (when they meant to ratify any Thing so firmly as never to revoke it,) is a Thing well known to the Vulgar, as being mentioned almost in every Fable, which was when they did not invoke or call to witness any Celestial Majesty, or Divine Power, but only the River *Styx*, that with crooked and *Meandry* Turnings encircleth the Palace of the infernal *Dis*. This was held as the only manner of their Sacrament ; and besides it, not any other Vow to be accounted firm, and inviolable ; and therefore the Punishment to be inflicted, (if any did Perjure themselves,) was, that for certain Years they should be put out of Commons, and not to be admitted to the Table of the Gods.

This Fable seems to point at the Leagues and Pacts of Princes, of which, more truly, than opportunely, may be said, That be they never so strongly confirmed with the Solemnity and Religion of an Oath, yet are for the most part, of no validity ; inso-much that they are made rather with an Eye to Reputation, and Report, and Ceremony ; than to Faith, Security, and Effect. Moreover, add to these the Bond of Affinity, as the Sacraments of Nature, and

mutual Deserts of each Part, and you shall observe, that with a great many, all these Things are placed a degree under Ambition and Profit, and the licentious desire of Domination; and so much the rather, because it is an easy Thing for Princes to defend and cover their unlawful Desires and unfaithful Vows, with many outwardly seeming fair Pretexts, especially seeing there is no Umpire or Moderator of Matters concluded upon to whom a Reason should be tendered. Therefore there is no true and proper Thing made choice of, for the confirmation of Faith, and that no celestial Power neither, but is indeed *Necessity*, (a great God to great Potentates,) the Peril also of State, and the Communication of Profit. As for *Necessity*, it is elegantly represented by *Styx*, that fatal and irremeable River; and this Godhead did *Iphicrates*, the *Athenian*, call to the Confirmation of a League; who because he alone is found to speak plainly that which many hide covertly in their Breasts, it would not be amiss to relate his Words. He observing how the *Lacedæmonians* had thought upon, and propounded divers Cautions, Sanctions, Confirmations and Bonds, pertaining to Leagues, interposed thus: *Unum Lacedæmonii, nobis vobiscum vinculum et securitatis ratio esse possit; si plane demonstratis, vos ea nobis concessisse, et inter manus posuisse, ut vobis facultas lædendi nos, si maxime velletis, minime suppetere possit.* There is one Thing (O *Lacedæmonians*) that would link us unto you in the Bond of Amity, and be the occasion of Peace and Security;

which is, if you would plainly demonstrate, that you have yielded up, and put into our Hands, such Things as that, would you Hurt us never so fain, you should yet be disfurnished of Means to do it. If therefore the Power of Hurting be taken away, or if by breach of League there follow the danger of the Ruin or Diminution of the State or Tribute; then indeed the Leagues may seem to be ratified and established, and as it were confirmed by the Sacrament of the *Stygian* Lake; seeing that it includes the fear of Prohibition and Suspension from the Table of the Gods, under which Name the Laws and Prerogatives, the Plenty and Felicity of a Kingdom were signified by the *Ancients*.

VI. Pan, or Nature.



THE *Ancients* have exquisitely described *Nature* under the Person of *Pan*, whose original they leave doubtful; for some say that he was the Son of *Mercury*, others attribute unto him a far different beginning, affirming him to be the common Offspring of *Penelope's* Suitors, upon a Suspicion, that every one of them had to do with her; which latter Relation doubtless gave occasion to some after Writers to Entitle this ancient Fable with the Name of *Penelope*, a Thing very frequent amongst them, when they

apply old Fictions to young Persons and Names, and that many times absurdly and indiscreetly, as may be seen here : For *Pan* being one of the Ancient Gods, was long before the time of *Ulysses* and *Penelope*. Besides (for her Matronal Chastity) she was held venerable by Antiquity. Neither may we pretermitt the third Conceit of his Birth : For some say, That he was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Hybris*, which signifies contumely or disdain. But howsoever begotten, the *Parcæ* (they say) were his Sisters. He is portrayed by the *Ancients* in this Guise ; on his Head a pair of Horns to reach to Heaven, his Body Rough and Hairy, his Beard long and shaggy, his Shape biformed, above like a Man, below like a Beast, his Feet like Goat's hoofs, bearing these Ensigns of his Jurisdiction, to wit, in his Left-hand a Pipe of seven Reeds, and in his Right a Sheep-hook, or a Staff crooked at the upper end, and his Mantle made of a *Leopard's* Skin. His Dignities and Offices were these : He was the God of Hunters, of Shepherds, and of all Rural Inhabitants : Chief President also of Hills and Mountains, and next to *Mercury*, the Ambassador of the Gods. Moreover, He was accounted the Leader and Commander of the *Nymphs*, which were always wont to Dance the Rounds, and Frisk about him ; he was accosted by the *Satyrs* and the old *Sileni*. He had Power also to strike Men with Terrors, and those especially Vain and Superstitious, which are termed *Panick Fears*. His Acts were not many, for aught that can be found in Records, the chiefeft

was, that he challenged *Cupid* at Wrestling, in which Conflict he had the Foil. The Tale goes too, how that he caught the Giant *Typhon* in a Net, and held him fast. Moreover, where *Ceres* (grumbling and chafing that *Proserpina* was ravished) had hid herself away, and that all the Gods took Pains (by dispersing themselves into every Corner) to find her out, it was only his good Hap (as he was Hunting) to light on her, and acquaint the rest where she was. He presumed also to put it to the Trial who was the best Musician, he or *Apollo*, and by the Judgment of *Midas* was indeed preferred: But the wise Judge had a pair of Afs's Ears privately chopped to his Noddle for his Sentence. Of his Love-tricks, there is nothing reported, or at least not much, a Thing to be wondered at, especially being among a Troop of Gods so profusely amorous. This only is said of him, that he loved the Nymph *Echo* (whom he took to Wife) and one pretty Wench more called *Sirynx*, towards whom *Cupid* (in an angry and revengeful Humour, because so audaciously he had challenged him at a Wrestling) inflamed his Desire. Moreover, he had no Issue (which is a Marvel also, seeing the Gods, especially those of the Male kind, were very Generative) only he was the reputed Father of a little Girl called *Jambe*, that with many pretty Tales was wont to make Strangers Merry; but some think that he did indeed beget her by his Wife *Jambe*. This (if any be) is a noble Tale, as being laid out and big-bellied with the Secrets and Mysteries of Nature.

Pan (as his Name imports) represents and lays open the All of Things or Nature. Concerning his Original there are two only Opinions that go for Current ; for either he came of *Mercury*, that is, the Word of God, which the Holy Scriptures without all Controversy affirm, and such of the Philosophers as had any smack of Divinity assented unto ; or else from the confused Seeds of Things. For they that would have one simple Beginning, refer it unto God ; or if a materiate Beginning, they would have it various in Power. So that we may end the Controversy with this Distribution, That the World took Beginning, either from *Mercury*, or from the Seeds of all Things.

Virg. Eclog. 6.

*Namque canebat uti magnum per inane coacta.
Semina terrarumque, animæque, marisque fuissent,
Et liquidi simul ignis : Et his exordia primis
Omnia, et ipse tener mundi concreverit Orbis.*

For rich-vein'd *Orpheus* sweetly did rehearse
How that the Seeds of Fire, Air, Water, Earth,
Were all pack'd in the vast void Universe :
And how from these as Firstlings, all had Birth,
And how the Body of this Orbick frame,
From tender Infancy so big became.

But, as touching the third Conceit of *Pan's* Original, it seems that the *Grecians* (either by inter-

course with the *Ægyptians*, or one way or other) had heard something of the *Hebrew* Mysteries; for it points to the State of the World, not considered in immediate Creation, but after the Fall of *Adam*, exposed and made subject to Death and Corruption: For in that State it was (and remains to this Day) the Offspring of God and Sin. And therefore all these Three Narrations concerning the manner of *Pan's* Birth may seem to be true, if it be rightly distinguished between Things and Times. For this *Pan* or Nature (which we suspect, Contemplate, and Reverence more than is fit) took beginning from the Word of God by the means of confused Matter, and the entrance of Prevarication and Corruption. The Destinies may well be thought the Sisters of *Pan* or *Nature*, because the Beginnings and Continuances and Corruptions and Depressions, and Dissolutions, and Eminencies, and Labours, and Felicities of Things, and all the Chances which can happen unto anything, are linked with the Chain of Causes natural.

Horns are attributed unto him, because Horns are broad at the Root, and sharp at the Ends, the Nature of all Things being like a *Pyramis*, sharp at the Top. For individual or singular Things being infinite, are first collected into *Species*, which are many also; then from *Species* into *Generals*, and from *Generals* (by ascending) are contracted into Things or Notions more general; so that at length *Nature* may seem to be contracted into an Unity. Neither is it to be wondered at, that *Pan* toucheth Heaven with his

Horns, seeing the height of Nature or Universal *Ideas* do, in some sort, pertain to Things Divine, and there is a ready and short Passage from *Metaphysicks* to natural *Theology*.

The Body of *Nature* is elegantly and with deep Judgment depainted Hairy, representing the Beams or Operations of Creatures; for Beams are as it were the Hairs and Bristles of *Nature*, and every Creature is either more or less Beamy, which is most apparent in the faculty of Seeing, and no less in every Virtue and Operation that effectuates upon a distant Object, for whatsoever works upon any Thing afar off, that may rightly be said to dart forth Rays or Beams.

Moreover, *Pan's* Beard is said to be exceeding long, because the Beams or Influences of Celestial Bodies do operate and pierce farthest of all; and the Sun, when his higher half is shadowed with a Cloud, his Beams break out in the lower, and looks as if he were Bearded.

Nature is also excellently set forth with a biformed Body, with respect to the differences between superior and inferior Creatures. For one part by reason of their Pulcritude, and Equability of Motion, and Constancy and Dominion over the Earth and Earthly Things, is worthily set out by the shape of Man: And the other part in respect of their Perturbations and unconstant Motions, (and therefore needing to be moderated by the Celestial) may be well fitted with the Figure of a Brute Beast. This Description of his

Body pertains also to the Participation of *Species*, for no natural Being seems to be simple, but as it were participated and compounded of two. As for Example, Man hath something of a Beast, a Beast something of a Plant, a Plant something of inanimate Body, of that all natural Things are in very Deed bifurmed, that is to say, compounded of a superior and inferior *Species*.

It is a very witty Allegory, that same of the Feet of the Goat, by reason of the upward tending Motion of Terrestrial Bodies towards the Air and Heaven, for the Goat is a climbing Creature, that loves to be hanging about the Rocks and steep Mountains; and this is done also in a wonderful manner, even by those Things which are destinated to this inferior Globe, as may manifestly appear in Clouds and Meteors.

The two Ensigns which *Pan* bears in his Hands, do point, the one at Harmony, the other at Empire: For the Pipe consisting of seven Reeds, doth evidently demonstrate the Consent, and Harmony, and discordant Concord of all inferior Creatures, which is caused by the Motion of the Seven Planets: And that of the Sheep-hook may be excellently applied to the Order of Nature, which is partly right, partly crooked: This Staff therefore or Rod is specially crooked in the upper end, because all the Works of Divine Providence in the World are done in a far-fetched and circular manner, so that one Thing may seem to be affected, and yet indeed a clean contrary

brought to pass; as the selling of *Joseph* into *Egypt*, and the like. Besides in all wise Human Government, they that sit at the Helm do more happily bring their Purposes about, and insinuate more easily into the Minds of the People, by pretexts and oblique Courses, than by direct Methods: So that all Sceptres and Masses of Authority ought in very Deed to be crooked in the upper end.

Pan's Cloak or Mantle is ingeniously feigned to be a Skin of a Leopard, because it is full of Spots: So the Heavens are spotted with Stars, the Sea with Rocks and Islands, the Land with Flowers, and every particular Creature also is for the most part garnished with divers Colours about the Superficies, which is as it were a Mantle unto it.

The Office of *Pan* can be by nothing so lively conceived and expressed, as by feigning him to be the God of Hunters, for every natural Action, and so by consequence, Motion, and Progression, is nothing else but a Hunting. Arts and Sciences have their Works, and Human Counsels their Ends which they earnestly hunt after. All natural Things have either their food as a Prey, or their Pleasure as a Recreation which they seek for, and that in most expert and sagacious manner.

*Torva Leæna Lupam sequitur, Lupus ipse Capellam.
Florentem Citysum sequitur lasciva Capella.*

The hungry Lionsess, (with sharp desire)
Pursues the Wolf, the Wolf the wanton Goat:

The Goat again doth greedily aspire
To have the Trifoil Juice pafs down her Throat.

Pan is alfo faid to be the God of the Country-Clowns, becaufe Men of this Condition lead lives more agreeable unto Nature, than thofe that live in the Cities and Courts of Princes, where Nature by too much Art is corrupted : So as the faying of the Poet (though in the fenfe of Love) might be here verified.

— *Pars minima eft ipfa puella fui.*

The Maid fo tricked herfelf with Art,
That of herfelf ſhe is leaft part.

He was held to be Lord Prefident of the Mountains, becaufe in the high Mountains and Hills, *Nature* lays herfelf moſt open, and Men moſt apt to View and Contemplation.

Whereas *Pan* is faid to be (next unto *Mercury*) the Meſſenger of the Gods, there is in that a Divine Myſtery contained, for next to the Word of God, the Image of the World proclaims the Power and Wiſdom Divine, as ſings the Sacred Poet, *Pſal. xix. 1. Cæli enarrant Gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat Firmamentum.* The Heavens declare the Glory of God, and the Firmament ſheweth the Works of his Hands.

The *Nymphs*, that is, the Souls of Living Things take great delight in *Pan*. For theſe Souls are the Delights or Minions of *Nature*, and the Direction

or Conduct of these *Nymphs* is with great Reason attributed unto *Pan*, because the Souls of all Things Living, do follow their natural Dispositions as their Guides, and with infinite variety every one of them after his own Fashion doth leap, and frisk and dance with incessant Motions about her. The *Satyrs* and *Sileni* also, to wit, Youth and Old Age, are some of *Pan's* Followers: For of all natural Things, there is a lively, jocund, and (as I may say) a dancing Age, and an Age again that is dull, bibling, and reeling. The Carriages and Dispositions of both which Ages, to some such as *Democritus* was, (that would observe them duly,) might peradventure seem as ridiculous and deformed, as the gambols of the *Satyrs*, or the gestures of the *Sileni*.

Of those Fears and Terrors which *Pan* is said to be the Author, there may be this wise Construction made: Namely, that Nature hath bred in every Living Thing a kind of Care and Fear, tending to the Preservation of its own Life and Being, and to the repelling and shunning of all Things hurtful. And yet *Nature* knows not how to keep a Mean, but always intermixes vain and empty Fears with such as are discreet and profitable: So that all Things (if their insides might be seen) would appear full of *Panick* Frights: But Men especially in hard, fearful, and diverse Times, are wonderfully infatuated with Superstition, which indeed is nothing else but a *Panick* Terror.

Concerning the Audacity of *Pan* in challenging

Cupid at Wrestling: The meaning of it is, that Matter wants not Inclination and Desire to the relapsing and dissolution of the World into the old *Chaos*, if her Malice and Violence were not restrained and kept in order, by the prepotent Unity and Agreement of Things signified by *Cupid*, or the God of Love; and therefore it was a happy turn for Men, and all Things else, that in their Conflict *Pan* was found too weak, and overcome.

To the same Effect may be interpreted his catching of *Typhon* in a Net: For howsoever there may sometimes happen vast and unwonted Tumours (as the Name of *Typhon* imports) either in the Sea or in the Air, or in the Earth, or elsewhere! yet *Nature* doth intangle it in an intricate Toil, and curb and restrain in, as it were with a Chain of Adamant, the Excesses and Insolencies of this kind of Bodies.

But forasmuch as it was *Pan's* good Fortune to find out *Ceres* as he was Hunting, and thought little of it, which none of the other Gods could do, though they did nothing else but seek her, and that very seriously; it gives us this true and grave Admonition, That we expect not to receive Things necessary for Life and Manners from Philosophical Abstractions, as from the greater Gods; albeit they applied themselves to no other Study; but from *Pan*, that is, from the discreet Observation and Experience, and the universal Knowledge of the Things of this World; whereby (oftentimes even by Chance, and as it were going a Hunting) such Inventions are lighted upon.

The Quarrel he made with *Apollo* about *Musick*, and the Event thereof contains a wholesome Instruction, which may serve to restrain Men's Reasons and Judgments with Reins of Sobriety, from Boasting and Glorifying in their Gifts. For there seems to be a twofold Harmony, or Musick; the one of Divine Providence, and the other of Human Judgment; the Administration of the World and Creatures therein, and the more secret Judgments of God, sound very hard and harsh; which Folly, albeit it be well set out with Asses' Ears; yet notwithstanding these Ears are secret, and do not openly appear, neither is it perceived or noted as a Deformity by the Vulgar.

Lastly, It is not to be wondered at, that there is nothing attributed unto *Pan* concerning Loves, but only of his Marriage with *Echo*: For the World or Nature doth enjoy itself, and in itself all Things else. Now he that Loves would enjoy something, but where there is enough, there is no Place left to desire. Therefore there can be no wanting Love in *Pan*, or the World, nor desire to obtain anything (seeing he is contented with himself) but only Speeches, which (if plain) may be intimated by the Nymph *Echo*; or if more quaint by *Syrinx*. It is an excellent Invention that *Pan*, or the World is said to make choice of *Echo* only (above all other Speeches or Voices) for his Wife: For that alone is true Philosophy, which doth faithfully render the very Words of the World; and it is written no otherwise than the World doth Dictate, it being

nothing else but the Image or reflection of it, not adding any thing of its own, but only iterates and re-sounds. It belongs also to the Sufficiency or Perfection of the World, that he begets no Issue: For the World doth generate in respect of its Parts, but in respect of the whole, how can it generate, seeing without it there is no Body? Notwithstanding all this, the tale of that tattling Girl fathered upon *Pan*, may in very Deed, with great Reason, be added to this Fable: For by her are represented those vain and idle Paradoxes concerning the Nature of Things which have been frequent in all Ages, and have filled the World with Novelties; Fruitless, if you respect the Matter; Changelings if you respect the Kind; sometimes creating Pleasure, sometimes Tedioufness with their overmuch Prattling.

VII. Perseus, or War.



PERSEUS is said to have been employed by *Pallas*, for the destroying of *Medusa*, who was very infestuous to the Western Parts of the World, and especially about the utmost Coasts of *Hiberia*. A Monster so dire and horrid, that by her only Aspect she turned Men into Stones. This *Medusa* alone of all the *Gorgons* was Mortal, the rest not subject to Death. *Perseus* therefore preparing himself for this

noble Enterprife, had Arms and Gifts bestowed on him by three of the Gods: *Mercury* gave him Wings annexed to his Heels, *Pluto* a Helmet, *Pallas* a Shield and a Looking-Glass. Notwithstanding (although he were thus furnished) he went not directly to *Medusa*, but first to the *Greæ*, which by the Mother's side were Sisters to the *Gorgons*. These *Greæ* from their Birth were Hoar-headed, resembling old Women. They had but one only Eye, and one Tooth among them all; both which, she that had occasion to go abroad, was wont to take with her, and at her return to lay them down again. This Eye and Tooth they lent to *Perseus*; and so finding himself thoroughly furnished for the effecting of his Design, hastens towards *Medusa*. Her he found Sleeping, and yet durst not present himself with his Face towards her, lest she should awake; but turning his Head aside, beheld her in *Pallas's* Glass, and (by this means directing his Blow) cut off her Head; from whose Blood gushing out, instantly came *Pegasus*, the Flying-Horse. Her head thus smote off, *Perseus* bestows on *Pallas* her Shield, which yet retained this Virtue, that whosoever looked upon it, should become as stupid as a Stone, or like one Planet-stricken.

This Fable seems to direct the Preparation and Order, that is to be used in making of War; for the more apt and considerate Undertaking whereof, three grave and wholesome Precepts (favouring of the Wisdom of *Pallas*) are to be observed.

First, That Men do not much trouble themselves about the Conquest of Neighbour Nations, seeing that private Possessions and Empires are enlarged by different Means : For in the Augmentation of private Revenues, the vicinity of Men's Territories is to be considered ; but in the Propagation of Public Dominions, the occasion and facility of making War, and the Fruit to be expected ought to be instead of Vicinity. Certainly the *Romans*, what time their Conquests towards the West, scarce reached beyond *Liguria*, did yet in the East bring all the Provinces as far as the Mountain *Taurus* within the compass of their Arms and Command ; and therefore *Perseus*, although he were Bred and Born in the East, did not yet refuse to undertake an Expedition even to the uttermost Bounds of the West.

Secondly, There must be a care had that the Motives of War be just and honourable, for that begets an Alacrity, as well in the Soldiers that Fight, as in the People that Pay ; it draws on and procures Aids, and brings many other Commodities besides. But there is no Pretence to take up Arms more Pious, than the suppressing of Tyranny ; under which Yoke, the People lose their Courage, and are cast down without Heart and Vigour, as in the fight of *Medusa*.

Thirdly, it is wisely added, that seeing there were three *Gorgons* (by which Wars are represented) *Perseus* undertook her only that was Mortal ; that is, he made choice of such a kind of War as was likely to

be effected and brought to a Period, not pursuing vast and endless Hopes.

The furnishing of *Perseus* with Necessaries was that which only advanced his Attempt, and drew *Fortune* to be of his side; for he had speed from *Mercury*, concealing of his Counsels from *Orcus*, and *Providence* from *Pallas*.

Neither is it without an Allegory, and that full of Matter too, that those Wings of Celerity were fastened to *Perseus*' Heels, and not to his Ankles; to his Feet, and not to his Shoulders; because Speed and Celerity is required, not so much in the first Preparations for War, as in those Things which second and yield Aid to the first; for there is no Error in War more frequent, than that Prosecutions and Subsidiary forces do fail to answer the Alacrity of the first Onsets.

Now for that Helmet which *Pluto* gave him, powerful to make Men invifible, the Moral is plain; but that twofold Gift of Providence, (to wit, the Shield and Looking-Glass) is full of Morality; for that kind of Providence, which like a Shield avoids the force of Blows, is not alone needful, but that also by which the Strength and Motions, and Counsels of the Enemy are descried, as in the Looking-Glass of *Pallas*.

But *Perseus*, albeit he were sufficiently furnished with Aid and Courage, yet was he to do one Thing of special Importance before he entered the Lifts with this Monster, and that was to have some Intelligence with the *Greæ*. These *Greæ* are Treasons which

may be termed the Sisters of War not descended of the same Stock, but far unlike in Nobility of Birth; for Wars are generous and heroical, but Treasons are base and ignoble. Their Description is elegant, for they are said to be Gray-headed, and like old Women from their Birth; by reason that Traitors are continually vexed with Cares and Trepidations. But all their Strength (before they break out into open Rebellions) consists either in an Eye or in a Tooth; for every Faction alienated from any State, contemplates and bites. Besides, this Eye and Tooth is as it were common; for whatsoever they can learn and know, is delivered and carried from one to another by the hands of Faction. And as concerning the Tooth, they do all bite alike, and sing the same Song; so that hear one, and you hear all. *Perseus* therefore was to deal with these *Grea* for the love of their Eye and Tooth. Their Eye to discover, their Tooth to sow Rumours and stir up Envy, and to molest and trouble the Minds of Men. These Things therefore being thus disposed and prepared, he addresses himself to the Action of War, and sets upon *Medusa* as she slept; for a wise Captain will ever assault his Enemy, when he is unprepared and most secure; and then is there good use of *Pallas* her Glass: For most Men, before it come to the Push, can acutely pry into and discern their Enemies' Estate; but the best use of this Glass is in the very point of danger, that the manner of it may be so considered, as that the Terror may not discourage, which

is signified by that looking into this Glas with the Face turned from *Medusa*.

The Monster's Head being cut off, there follow two Effects. The first was, the procreation and raising of *Pegasus*, by which may be evidently understood *Fame*, that (flying through the World) proclaims Victory. The second is the bearing of *Medusa's* Head in his Shield; to which there is no kind of defence for Excellency comparable; for the one famous and memorable Act prosperously effected and brought to pass, doth restrain the Motions and Insolencies of Enemies, and makes Envy herself silent and amazed.

VIII. Endymion, or a Favourite.



It is said, That *Luna* was in Love with the Shepherd *Endymion*, and in a strange and unwonted manner bewrayed her Affection: For he lying in a Cave framed by Nature under the Mountain *Latmus*, she oftentimes descended from her Sphere to enjoy his Company as he slept; and after she had kissed him, ascended up again. Yet notwithstanding this his Idleness, and sleepy Security, did not any way impair his Estate or Fortune; for *Luna* brought it so to pass, that he alone (of all the rest of the Shepherds) had his Flock in best Plight, and most Fruitful.

This Fable may have reference to the Nature and Dispositions of Princes ; for they being full of Doubts, and prone to Jealousy, do not easily acquaint Men of prying and curious Eyes, and as it were of vigilant and wakeful Dispositions, with the secret Humours and Manners of their Life ; but such rather as are of quiet and observant Natures, suffering them to do what they list without further Scanting, making as if they were Ignorant, and perceiving nothing but of a stupid Disposition, and posselt with Sleep, yielding unto them simple Obedience, rather than fly Complements ; For it pleaseth Princes now and then to descend from their Thrones or Majesty (like *Luna* from the superior Orb) and laying aside their Robes of Dignity (which always to be cumbered with, would seem a kind of Burthen) familiarly to Converse with Men of this Condition, which they think may be done without Danger ; a Quality chiefly noted in *Tiberius Cæsar*, who (of all others) was a Prince most severe ; yet such only were gracious in his Favour, as being well acquainted with his Disposition, did yet constantly Dissemble, as if they knew nothing. This was the Custom also of *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, a cautious and wily Prince.

Neither is it without Elegancy, that the cause of *Endymion* is mentioned in the Fable, because that it is a Thing usual with such as are the Favourites of Princes, to have certain pleasant retiring Places, whither to invite them for Recreation both of Body and Mind, and that without hurt or prejudice to

their Fortunes also. And indeed these kind of Favourites are Men commonly well to pass; for Princes, although peradventure they promote them not ever to Places of Honour, yet do they advance them sufficiently by their Favour and Countenance: Neither do they affect them thus, only to serve their own turn; but are wont to enrich them now and then with great Dignities, and Bounties.

IX. The Sister of the Giants, or Fame.



T is a Poetical Relation, that the Giants begotten of the Earth, made War upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods; and by the force of Lightning, they were resisted and overthrown. Whereat the Earth being excited to Wrath, in Revenge of her Children brought forth Fame, the youngest Sister of the Giants.

*Illam terra parens ira irritata Deorum,
Extremam (ut prohibent) Cæo Enceladoque sororem
Progeniit* —————

Provoked by wrathful Gods, the Mother Earth
Gives *Fame*, the Giants' youngest Sister, Birth.

The meaning of the Fable seems to be thus: By

the Earth, is signified the Nature of the Vulgar, always swollen and malignant, and still broaching new Scandals against Superiors, and having gotten fit Opportunity, stirs up Rebels and Seditious Persons, that with impious Outrage do molest Princes, and endeavour to subvert their Estates; but being suppressed, the same natural Disposition of the People still leaning to the viler sort, (being impatient of Peace and Tranquillity,) spread Rumours, raise malicious Slanders, repining Whisperings, infamous Libels, and others of that kind, to the detraction of them that are in Authority: So as Rebellious Actions, and Seditious Reports, differ nothing in Kind and Blood, but as it were in Sex only; the one sort being Masculine, and the other Feminine.

x. Actæon and Pentheus, or a Curious Man.



THE Curiosity of Men, in prying into Secrets, and coveting with an undiscereet Desire to attain the knowledge of Things forbidden, is set forth by the Ancients in two other Examples: The one of *Actæon*, the other of *Pentheus*.

Actæon having unawares, and as it were by chance beheld *Diana* naked, was turned into a Stag, and devoured by his own Dogs.

And *Pentheus* climbing up into a Tree, with a desire to be a spectator of the hidden Sacrifices of *Bacchus*, was stricken with such a kind of Frenzy, as that whatsoever he looked upon, he thought it always double, supposing (among other Things) he saw two *Suns*, and two *Thebes*; insomuch that running towards *Thebes*, spying another *Thebes*, instantly turned back again, and so kept still running forward and backward with perpetual Unrest.

*Eumenidum veluti demens vidit agmina Pentheus,
Et Solem geminum, duplices se ostendere Thebas.*

Pentheus amazed, doth troops of Furies spy;
And *Sun*, and *Thebes* seem double to his Eye.

The first of the Fables pertains to the secrets of Princes, the second to Divine Mysteries. For those that are near about Princes, and come to the knowledge of more Secrets than they would have them, do certainly incur great Hatred. And therefore, (suspecting that they are Shot at, and Opportunities watched for their Overthrow,) do lead their Lives like Stags, fearful and full of suspicion. And it happens oftentimes that their Servants, and those of their Household, (to insinuate into the Prince's Favour) do accuse them to their Destruction; for against whomsoever the *Prince's* Displeasure is known, look how many Servants that Man hath, and you shall find them for the most part so many Traitors unto him, that his End may prove to be like *Actæon's*.

The other is the Misery of *Pentheus*: For that by the height of Knowledge and Nature in Philosophy, having climbed, as it were into a Tree, do with rash Attempts (unmindful of their Frailty) pry into the Secrets of Divine Mysteries, and are justly plagued with perpetual Inconstancy, and with wavering and perplexed Conceits: For seeing the light of Nature is one thing, and of Grace another; it happens so to them as if they saw two *Suns*. And seeing the Actions of Life, and degrees of the Will to depend on the Understanding, it follows that they doubt, are inconstant no less in Will than in Opinion; and so in like manner they may be said to see two *Thebes*: For by *Thebes* (seeing there was the Habitation and refuge of *Pentheus*) is meant the end of Actions. Hence it comes to pass that they know not whither they go, but as distracted and unresolved in the Scope of their Intentions, are in all Things carried about with sudden Passions of the Mind.

XI. Orpheus, or Philosophy.



THE Tale of *Orpheus*, though common, had never the fortune to be fitly applied in every Point. It may seem to represent the Image of Philosophy: For the Person of *Orpheus* (a Man Admirable and Divine, and so excellently skilled in all kinds of Harmony,

that with his sweet ravishing Musick he did as it were charm and allure all Things to follow him) may carry a singular Description of Philosophy : For the Labours of *Orpheus* do so far exceed the Labours of *Hercules* in Dignity and Efficacy, as the Works of Wisdom, excel the Works of Fortitude.

Orpheus for the Love he bare to his Wife, snatched, as it were, from him by untimely Death, resolved to go down to Hell with his Harp, to try if he might obtain her of the Infernal Powers. Neither were his hopes frustrated : For having appeased them with the melodious sound of his Voice and Touch, prevailed at length so far, as that they granted him leave to take her away with him ; but on this Condition, that she should follow him, and he not to look back upon her, till he came to the Light of the upper World ; which he (impatient of, out of Love and Care, and thinking that he was in a manner past all Danger) nevertheless violated, insomuch that the Covenant is broken, and she forthwith tumbles back again headlong into Hell. *Orpheus* falling into a deep Melancholy, became a Contemner of Woman-kind, and bequeathed himself, to a solitary Life in the Deserts ; where, by the same Melody of his Voice and Harp, he first drew all manner of wild Beasts unto him, (who forgetful of their Savage fierceness, and casting off the precipitate Provocations of Lust and Fury, not caring to satiate their Voracity by hunting after Prey) as at a *Theatre* in fawning and reconciled Amity one towards another, standing

all at the Gaze about him, and attentively lend their Ears to his Musick. Neither is this all; for so great was the Power and alluring Force of this Harmony, that he drew the Woods, and moved the very Stones to come and place themselves in an orderly and decent Fashion about him. These Things succeeding happily, and with great Admiration for a time; at length certain *Thracian* Women (possess'd with the Spirit of *Bacchus*,) made such a horrid and strange Noise with their Cornets, that the sound of *Orpheus's* Harp could no more be heard, insomuch as that Harmony which was the Bond of that Order and Society being dissolved, all Disorder began again; and the Beasts (returning to their wonted Nature) pursued one another unto Death as before: Neither did the Trees or Stones remain any longer in their Places: And *Orpheus* himself was by these Female Furies torn in Pieces, and scattered all over the Desert. For whose cruel Death the River *Helicon* (sacred to the Muses) in horrible Indignation, hid his Head under Ground, and rais'd it again in another Place.

The meaning of this Fable seems to be thus: *Orpheus's* Music is of two sorts, the one appeasing the Infernal Powers, the other attracting Beasts and Trees; the first may be fitly applied to Natural Philosophy, the second to Moral or Civil Discipline.

The most noble Work of Natural Philosophy, is the Restitution and Renovation of Things corruptible; the other (as a lesser degree of it) the Preservation of Bodies in their Estates, detaining them from Dissolu-

tion and Putrefaction ; and if this Gift may be in Mortals, certainly it can be done by no other means than by the due and exquisite Temper of Nature, as by the melody and delicate Touch of an Instrument. But seeing it is of all Things most difficult, it is seldom or never attained unto ; and in all likelihood for no other Reason, more than through curious Diligence and untimely Impatience. And therefore Philosophy hardly able to produce so excellent an Effect in a pensive Humour, (and that without cause) busies herself about Humane Objects, and by Persuasion and Eloquence, insinuating the love of Virtue, Equity, and Concord in the Minds of Men ; draws Multitudes of People to a Society, makes them subject to Laws, obedient to Government, and forgetful of their unbridled Affections, whilst they give Ear to Precepts, and submit themselves to Discipline ; whence follows the building of Houses, erecting of Towns, planting of Fields and Orchards, with Trees and the like, insomuch that it would not be amiss to say, That even thereby Stones and Woods were called together and settled in Order. And after serious Trial made and frustrated about the restoring of a Body Mortal, this care of Civil Affairs follows in his due Place : Because by a plain Demonstration of the inevitable necessity of Death, Men's Minds are moved to seek Eternity by the frame and glory of their Merits. It is also wisely said in the Fable, that *Orpheus* was averse from the love of Women and Marriage, because the delights of Wedlock and the love of Children do for the most part hinder

Men from enterprising great and noble Designs for the public Good, holding Posterity a sufficient step to Immortality without Action.

Besides, even the very Works of Wisdom (although amongst all Human Things they do most excel) do nevertheless meet with their Periods. For it happens that (after Kingdoms and Commonwealths have flourished for a time) even Tumults, and Seditions, and Wars arise; in the midst of which Hurly-burles, first Laws are silent, Men return to the pravity of their Natures; Fields and Towns are wasted and depopulated; and then (if their Fury continue) Learning and Philosophy must needs be dismembered; so that a few Fragments only, and in some Places, will be found like the scattered Boards of Shipwreck, so as a barbarous Age must follow; and the Streams of *Helicon* being hid under the Earth, (until the Vicissitude of Things passing,) they break out again, and appear in some other remote Nation, though not perhaps in the same Climate.

XII. Cœlum, or Beginnings.



WE have it from the Poets by Tradition, that *Cœlum* was the Ancientest of the Gods, and that his Members of Generation were cut off by his Son *Saturn*. *Saturn* had many Children, but devoured them as

as soon as they were Born ; *Jupiter* only escaped, who being come to Man's Estate, thrust *Saturn* his Father into Hell, and so usurp'd the Kingdom. Moreover he pared off his Father's Genitals with the same Falchion that *Saturn* dismembered *Cælum*, and cast them into the Sea ; from whence came *Venus*. Not long after this, (*Jupiter* being scarce settled and confirmed in this Kingdom) was invaded by two memorable Wars. The first of the *Titans*, in the suppressing of which *Sol* (who alone of all the *Titans*, favouring *Jupiter's* side) took exceeding great Pains. The second was of the Giants, whom *Jupiter* himself destroyed with Thunder-bolts : And so all Wars being ended, he Reigned secure.

This Fable seems enigmatically to shew from whence all Things took their Beginning, not much differing from that Opinion of Philosophers, which *Democritus* afterwards laboured to maintain, attributing Eternity to the first Matter, and not to the World. In which he comes somewhat near the truth of Divine Writ, telling us of a huge deformed Mass, before the beginning of the six days' Work.

The meaning of the Fable is this : by *Cælum* may be understood that vast Concavity or vaulted Compass that comprehends all Matter : And by *Saturn* may be meant the Matter itself, which takes from his Parent all power of Generating ; for the universality or whole Bulk of Matter always remains the same, neither increasing or diminishing in respect of the quality of its Nature : But by the divers

Agitations and Motions of it, were first produced imperfect, and ill agreeing Compositions of Things, making as it were certain Worlds for Proofs or Essays, and so in process of Time a perfect Fabrick or Structure was framed, which should still retain and keep his Form. And therefore the Government of the first Age was shadowed by the Kingdom of *Saturn*, who for the frequent Dissolutions and short Continuances of Things was aptly feigned to devour his Children. The succeeding Government was deciphered by the Reign of *Jupiter*, who confirmed those continual Mutations unto *Tartarus*, a Place signifying Perturbation. This Place seems to be all that middle Place between the lower Superficies of Heaven, and the Centre of the Earth: In which all Perturbations, and Fragility, and Mortality or Corruption are frequent. During the former Generation of things in the time of *Saturn's* Reign, *Venus* was not Born: For so long as in the universality of Matter, Discord was better and more prevalent than Concord, it was necessary that there should be total Dissolution or Mutation, and that in the whole Fabrick. And by this kind of Generation were creatures produced before *Saturn* was deprived of his Genitals. When this ceased, that other which wrought by *Venus*, immediately came in, consisting in settled and prevalent Concord of Things, so that Mutation should be only in respect of the Parts, the universal Fabrick remaining whole and inviolate.

Saturn, they say, was deposed and cast down into

Hell, but not destroyed and utterly extinguished, because there was an Opinion that the World should relapse into the old *Chaos* and *interregnum* again, which *Lucretius* prayed might not happen in his Time :

*Quod procul à nobis flectat fortuna gubernans :
Et ratio potius quam res persuadeat ipsa.*

Of guiding Providence be gracious,
That this Doomsday be far removed from us ;
And grant, that by us it may be expected,
Rather than on us, in our Times effected.

For afterwards, the World should subsist by its own quantity and power. Yet from the beginning there was no rest : For in the Celestial Regions there first followed notable Mutations, which by the Power of the *Sun* (predominating over superior Bodies) were so quieted, that the state of the World should be conserved : And afterwards (in inferior Bodies) by the suppressing and dissipating of Inundations, Tempests, Winds, and general Earthquakes, a more peaceable durable Agreement and Tranquillity of Things followed. But of this Fable it may convertibly be said, That the Fable contains Philosophy, and Philosophy again the Fable : For we know by Faith, that all these Things are nothing else but the long since ceasing and failing Oracles of Sense, seeing that both the Matter and Fabrick of the World are most truly referred to a Creator.

XIII. Proteus, or Matter.



THE Poets say that *Proteus* was *Nep-
tune's* Herdsman, a grave Sire, and so
excellent a Prophet, that he might well
be termed thrice excellent; For he
knew not only Things to come, but even Things
past as well as present; so that besides his Skill in
Divination, he was the Messenger and Interpreter of
all Antiquities and hidden Mysteries. The Place of
his Abode was a huge vast Cave, where his Custom
was every Day at Noon to count his Flock of Sea-
calves, and then to go to sleep. Moreover he that
desired his Advice in anything, could by no other
means obtain it, but by catching him in Manacles,
and holding him fast therewith; who nevertheless to
be at liberty, would turn himself into all manner of
Forms and Wonders of Nature; sometimes into
Fire, sometimes into Water, sometimes into the shape
of Beasts, and the like; till at length he were restored
to his own Form again.

This Fable may seem to unfold the secrets of Na-
ture, and the properties of *Matter*. For under the
Person of *Proteus*, the first Matter (which next to
God) is the ancientest Thing may be represented:
For Matter dwells in the concavity of Heaven, as in
a Cave.

He is *Neptune's* Bondman, because the Operations and Dispensations of Matter are chiefly exercised in liquid Bodies.

His Flock or Herd seems to be nothing but the ordinary *Species* of sensible Creatures, Plants, and Metals, in which Matter seems to diffuse and as it were spend itself; so that after the forming and perfecting of these Kinds, (having ended as it were her Task,) she seems to Sleep, and take her Rest, not attempting the Composition of any more *Species*. And this may be the Moral of *Proteus's* counting of his Flock, and of his sleeping.

Now this is said to be done, not in the Morning, nor in the Evening, but at Noon; to wit, at such time as is most fit and convenient for the perfecting and bringing forth of *Species* out of Matter, duly prepared and predisposed, and in the middle, as it were between their Beginning and Declinations, which we know sufficiently (out of the Holy History) to be done about the time of the Creation: For then by the power of that Divine Word (*Producat,*) Matter at the Creator's Command did congregate itself (not by Ambages or Turnings, but instantly) to the Production of its Work into an Act and Constitution of *Species*. And thus far have we the Narration of *Proteus* (free and unrestrained, together with his Flock complete): For the universality of Things, with their ordinary Structures and Compositions of *Species*, bears the Face of Matter, not limited and constrained, and of the Flock also of Material Beings.

Nevertheless if any expert Minister of Nature, shall encounter Matter by main force, vexing and urging her with Intent and Purpose to reduce her to nothing; she contrariwise (seeing Annihilation and absolute Destruction cannot be effected by the Omnipotency of God) being thus caught in the straits of Necessity, doth change and turn herself into divers strange Forms and Shapes of Things, so that at length (by fetching a Circuit as it were) she comes to a Period, and (if the Force continue) betakes herself to her former Being. The reason of which Constraint or Binding will be more facile and expedite, if Matter be laid hold on by Manacles, that is, Extremities.

Now whereas it is feigned that *Proteus* was a Prophet, well skilled in three differences of Times, it hath an excellent Agreement with the Nature of Matter: for it is necessary that he that will know the Properties and Proceedings of Matter, should comprehend in his Understanding the sum of all things, which have been, which are, or which shall be, although no Knowledge can extend so far as to singular, and individual Beings.

xiv. Memnon, or a Youth too forward.



THE Poets say, that *Memnon* was the Son of *Aurora*, who (adorned with beautiful Armour, and animated with popular Applause,) came to the *Trojan War*; where (in rash Boldness) hasting unto, and thirsting after Glory, he enters into single Combat with *Achilles*, the valiantest of all the *Grecians*, by whose powerful Hand he was there slain. But *Jupiter* pitying his Destruction, sent Birds to modulate certain lamentable and doleful Notes at the Solemnization of his Funeral Obsequies. Whose Statue also (the Sun reflecting on it with his Morning Beams) did usually, as is reported, send forth a mournful Sound.

This Fable may be applied to the unfortunate Destinies of hopeful young Men, who, like the Sons of *Aurora*, (puffed up with the glittering shew of Vanity, and Ostentation,) attempt Actions above their Strength, and provoke, and press the most valiant *Heroes* to combat with them; so that (meeting with their overmatch) they are vanquished, and destroyed: whose untimely Death is oft accompanied with much Pity and Commiseration. For among all the Disasters that can happen to Mortals, there is

none so lamentable, and so powerful to move Compassion, as the flower of Virtue cropped with too sudden a Misfortune. Neither hath it been often known that Men in their green Years become so loathsome, and odious, as that at their Deaths either Sorrow is stinted, or Commiseration moderated ; but that Lamentation and Mourning do not only flutter about their Obsequies, like those Funeral Birds ; but this pitiful Commiseration doth continue for a long space, and especially by Occasions, and new Motions, and beginning of great Matters, as it were by the Morning Rays of the *Sun*, their Passions and Desires are renewed.

xv. Tithonus, or Satiety.



T is elegantly feigned, that *Tithonus* was the Paramour of *Aurora*, who (desirous to enjoy his Company) petitioned *Jupiter* that he might never die ; but (through Womanish oversight) forgetting to insert this Clause in her Petition, that he might not withal grow old, and feeble ; it followed that he was only freed from the condition of Mortality ; but for old Age, that came upon him in a marvellous, and miserable fashion, agreeable to the state of those who cannot die, yet every Day grow weaker and weaker with Age : Infomuch that *Jupiter* (in commiseration

of that his Misery,) did at length metamorphose him into a Grasshopper.

This Fable seems to be an ingenious Character, or Description of Pleasure, which in the Beginning, and as it were, in the Morning, seems to be pleasant and delightful, that Men desire they might enjoy, and monopolize it for ever unto themselves, unmindful of that Satiety, and Loathing, which (like old Age,) will come upon them before they be aware. And so at last, (when the use of Pleasure leaves Men, the Desire and Affection not yet yielding unto Death,) it comes to pass that Men please themselves only by talking, and commemorating those things which brought Pleasure unto them in the flower of their Age, which may be observed in libidinous Persons, and also in Men of Military Professions; the one delighting in beastly Talk, the other boasting of their valorous Deeds, like Grasshoppers, whose Vigour consists only in their Voice.

XVI. Juno's Suitor, or Baseness.



THE Poets say, that *Jupiter*, to enjoy his lustful Delights, took upon him the shape of sundry Creatures, as of a Bull, of an Eagle, of a Swan, and of a Golden Shower; but being a Suitor to *Juno*, he came in a Form most ignoble and base, an Object full of Con-

tempt and Scorn, resembling indeed a miserable *Cuckoo* weather-beaten with Rain and Tempest, numbed, quaking, and half dead with Cold.

This Fable is wise, and seems to be taken out of the Bowels of Morality; the Sense of it being this, That Men boast not too much of themselves, thinking by Ostentation of their own Worth, to insinuate themselves into Estimation and Favour with Men. The Success of such Intentions being for the most part measured by the Nature and Disposition of those to whom Men sue for Grace; who, if of themselves they be endowed with no Gifts and Ornaments of Nature, but are only of haughty and malignant Spirits, (intimated by the Person of *Juno*,) then are Suitors to know that it is good Policy to omit all kind of Appearance that may any way shew their own least Praise or Worth, and that they much deceive themselves in taking any other Course. Neither is it enough to shew Deformity in Obsequiousness, unless they also appear even abject and base in their very Persons.

XVII. Cupid, or an Atom.



THAT which the Poets say of *Cupid*, or *Love*, cannot properly be attributed to one and the self same Person; and yet the Difference is such, that (by rejecting the Confusion of Persons,) the Similitude may be received.

They say, that *Love* is the ancientest of all the Gods, and of all things else, except *Chaos*, which they hold to be a Contemporary with it. Now as touching *Chaos*, that by the Ancients was never dignified with Divine Honour, or with the Title of the God. And as for *Love*, they absolutely bring him in without a Father; only some are of opinion, that he came of an Egg that was laid by *Nox*, and that on *Chaos* he begat the God, and all things else. There are four things attributed to him, perpetual Infancy, Blindness, Nakedness, and Archery. There was also another *Love*, which was the youngest of the Gods, and he, they say, was the Son of *Venus*. On this also they bestow the Attributes of the elder *Love*, as in some sort will apply unto him.

This Fable tends, and looks to the Cradle of *Nature*, *Love* seeming to be the Appetite or Desire of the first Matter, or (to speak more plain) the natural motion of the *Atom*, which is that Ancient and only Power that Forms and Fashions all things out of Matter, of which there is no Parent, that is to say, no Cause, seeing every Cause is as a Parent to its Effect. Of this Power or Virtue there can be no Cause in Nature (as for *God*, we always except him,) for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient Cause of it. Neither was there any thing better known to Nature, and therefore neither *Genus* nor *Form*. Wherefore whatsoever it is, positive it is, and but inexpressible. Moreover, if the manner and proceeding of it were to be conceived, yet could it

not be by any Cause, seeing that (next unto God,) it is the Cause of Causes, it self only without any Cause. And perchance there is no likelihood that the manner of it may be contained or comprehended within the narrow compass of human Search. Not without reason therefore it is feigned to come of an Egg which was laid by *Nox*. Certainly the Divine Philosopher grants so much.

Eccl. 3. 11. *Cuncta fecit tempestatibus suis pulchra, et mundum tradidit disputationibus eorum, ita tamen ut non inveniat homo opus, quod operatus est Deus à principio ad finem.* That is, he hath made every thing beautiful in their Seasons, also he hath set the World in their Meditations; yet Man cannot find the Work that God hath wrought, from the Beginning even to the End: For the principal Law of Nature, or Power of this Desire, created (by God,) in these parcels of things, for concurring and meeting together, (from whose Repetitions and Multiplications all Variety of Creatures proceeded, and were composed,) may dazzle the Eyes of Men's Understandings, and comprehended it can hardly be. The *Greek* Philosophers are observed to be very acute and diligent in searching out the material Principles of things; but in the beginnings of Motion (wherein consists all the efficacy of Operation,) they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they seem to be altogether blind, and stammering; for the Opinion of the *Peripateticks* concerning the appetite of Matter, caused by Privation, is in a manner nothing

else but Words, which rather sound, than signify any Reality. And those that refer it unto God, do very well; but then they leap up, they ascend not by degrees; for doubtless there is one chief Law subordinate to God, in which all natural things concur and meet, the same that in the fore-cited Scripture is demonstrated in these Words, *Opus quod operatus est Deus à principio usque ad finem*; the Work that God hath wrought from the Beginning even to the End. But *Democritus*, which entered more deeply into the Consideration of this Point, after he had conceived an *Atom*, with some small Dimension and Form, he attributed unto it one only Desire, or first Motion, simply, or absolutely, and another comparatively, or in respect; for he thought that all things did properly tend to the Centre of the World, whereof those Bodies which were more material, descend with swifter Motion, and those that had less Matter, did, on the contrary, tend upward. But this Meditation was very shallow, containing less than was expedient; for neither the turning of the Celestial Bodies in a round, nor shutting and opening of things, may seem to be reduced or applied to this Beginning. And as for that opinion of *Epicurus*, concerning the casual Declination and Agitation of the *Atom*, it is but a mere Toy, and a plain Evidence, that he was ignorant of that Point. It is therefore more apparent (than we could wish,) that this *Cupid*, or Love, remains as yet clouded under the shades of *Night*. Now as concerning his Attributes, He is

elegantly described with perpetual Infancy, or Childhood; because compound Bodies they seem greater, and more stricken in Years: Whereas the first Seeds of things, or *Atoms*, they are little and diminute, and also in their Infancy.

He is also well feigned to be naked, because all compound Bodies, to a Man rightly judging, seem to be apparelled and clothed, and nothing to be properly naked but the first Particles of things.

Concerning his Blindness, the Allegory is full of Wisdom; for this *Love*, or Desire (whatsoever it be) seems to have but little Providence, as directing his Pace and Motion by that which it perceives nearest; not unlike blind Men that go by feeling: More admirable then, must that chief divine Providence be, which (from things empty and destitute of Providence, and as it were blind), by a constant and fatal Law, produceth so excellent an Order and Beauty of Things.

The last thing which is attributed to *Love*, is *Archery*; by which is meant, that his Virtue is such, as that it works upon a distant Object; because that whatsoever operates afar off, seems to shoot, as it were, an Arrow. Wherefore whosoever holds the Being both of *Atoms* and *Vacuity*, must needs infer, that the Virtue of the *Atom* reacheth to a distant Object: for if it were not so, there could be no Motion at all, by reason of the interposition of *Vacuity*; but all things would stand stone still, and remain immovable.

Now as touching that other *Cupid* or *Love*, he may well be termed the youngest of the Gods, because he could have no Being before the Constitution of *Species*. And in his Description the Allegory may be applied and traduced to Manners: Nevertheless he holds some kind of Conformity with the Elder; for *Venus* doth generally stir up a desire of Conjunction and Procreation, and *Cupid* her Son doth apply this Desire to some individual Nature; so that the general Disposition comes from *Venus*, the more exact Sympathy from *Cupid*: the one derived from Causes more near, the other from Beginnings more remote and fatal, and as it were from the elder *Cupid*, of whom every exquisite Sympathy doth depend.

XVIII. Diomedes, or Zeal.



DIOMEDES flourishing with great Fame and Glory in the *Trojan* Wars, and in high favour with *Pallas*, was by her instigated (being indeed forwarder than he should have been) not to forbear *Venus* a jot, if he encountered with her in Fight; which very boldly he performed, wounding her in the right Arm. This presumptuous Fact he carried clear for a while; and being honoured and renowned for his many heroick Deeds, at last returned into his own Country, where finding himself hard bestead

with domestic Troubles, fled into *Italy*, betaking himself to the Protection of Foreigners, where in the beginning he was fortunate and royally entertained by King *Daunus* with sumptuous Gifts, raising many Statues in honour of him throughout his Dominions. But upon the very first Calamity that happened unto this Nation, whereunto he was fled for Succour, King *Daunus* enters into a conceit with himself that he had entertained a wicked Guest in his Family, and a Man odious to the Goddesses, and an Impugner of their Divinity, that had dared, with his Sword, to assault and wound that Goddesses, who in their Religion, they held it Sacrilege so much as to touch. Therefore, that he might expiate his Country's Guilt, (nothing respecting the Duties of Hospitality, when the Bonds of Religion tied him with a more reverend regard) suddenly slew *Diomedes*, commanding withal that his Trophies and Statues should be abolished and destroyed. Neither was it safe to lament this miserable Destiny; but even his Companions in Arms, whilst they mourned at the Funeral of their Captain, and filled all the Places with Complaints and Lamentations, were suddenly metamorphosed into Birds like unto Swans, who, when their Death approacheth, sing melodious and mournful Hymns.

This Fable hath a most rare and singular Subject: For in any of the Poetical Records, wherein the *Heroes* are mentioned, we find not that any one of them, besides *Diomedes*, did ever with his Sword offer Violence to any of the *Deities*. And indeed,

the Fable seems in him to represent the Nature and Fortune of Man, who of himself doth propound, and make this as the end of all his Actions, to worship some Divine Power, or to follow some Sect of Religion, though never so vain and superstitious, and with Force and Arms to defend the same: For although those bloody Quarrels for Religion were unknown to the Ancients, (the Heathen Gods not having so much as a touch of that Jealousy, which is an Attribute of the true God,) yet the Wisdom of the Ancient Times seems to be so copious and full, as that, what was not known by Experience, was yet comprehended by Meditations and Fictions. They then that endeavour to reform and convince any Sect of Religion, (though vain, corrupt, and infamous, shadowed by the person of *Venus*,) not by the force of Argument and Doctrine, and Holiness of Life, and by the weight of Examples and Authority, but labour to extirpate and root it out by Fire and Sword, and Tortures, are encouraged, it may be, thereunto by *Pallas*; that is, by the Acrity of *Prudence*, and Severity of Judgment, by whose Vigour and Efficacy, they see into the Falsity and Vanity of these Errors: And by this their hatred to Pravity, and good zeal to Religion, they purchase of themselves great Glory, and by the Vulgar (to whom nothing moderate can be grateful) are esteemed and honoured as the only Supporters of Truth and Religion, when others seem to be luke-warm and full of Fear. Yet this Glory and Happiness doth seldom endure to the

end, seeing every violent Prosperity, if it prevent not alteration by an untimely Death grows to be unprofitous at last : For if it happen that by a change of Government, this banished and depressed Sect get Strength, and so bear up again, then these zealous Men, so fierce in opposition before, are condemned, their very Names are hateful, and all their Glory ends in Obloquy.

In that *Diomedes* is said to be murdered by his Host, it gives us to understand that the difference of Religion breeds Deceit and Treachery, even among nearest Acquaintance.

Now in that Lamentation and Mourning was not tolerable but punished ; it puts us in mind, that let there be never so nefarious an Act done, yet there is some place left for Commiseration and Pity, that even those that hate Offences, should yet in Humanity commiserate Offenders, and pity their Distresses, it being the Extremity of Evil when Mercy is not suffered to have Commerce with Misery. Yea, even in the Cause as well of Religion as Impiety, many Men may be noted and observed to have been compassionate. But on the contrary the Complaints and Moans of *Diomedes's* Followers, that is, of Men of the same Sect and Opinion, are wont to be shrill and loud, like Swans or the Birds of *Diomedes*. In whom also that part of the Allegory is excellent to signify that the last Words of those that suffer Death for Religion, like the Songs of dying Swans, do wonderfully work upon the Minds of Men, and strike and remain a long time in their Senses and Memories.

XIX. Dædalus, or Mechanick.



MECHANICAL Wisdom and Industry, and in it unlawful Science perverted to wrong ends is shadowed by the Ancients under the person of *Dædalus*, a Man ingenious, but execrable. This *Dædalus* (for murdering his Fellow-servant that emulated him) being banished, was kindly entertained (during his Exile) in many Cities and Princes' Courts: For indeed he was the Raiser and Builder of many goodly Structures, as well in Honour of the Gods, as the Beauty and Magnificence of Cities, and other public Places, but for his Works of Mischief he is most notorious. It is he that framed the Engine which *Pasiphae* used to satisfy her Lust in company with a Bull; so that by his wretched Industry, and pernicious Device, that Monster *Minotaur* (the Destruction of so many hopeful Youths) took his accursed and infamous Beginning, and studying to cover and increase one Mischief with another; for the Security and Preservation of this Monster he invented and built a Labyrinth, a Work for intent and use most nefarious and wicked, for Skill and Workmanship famous and excellent. Afterwards, that he might not be noted only for Works of Mischief, but be sought after as well for Remedies as for Instruments of Destruction, he was the Author of that ingenious

Device concerning the Clew of Thread, by which the Labyrinth was made passable without any let. This *Dædalus* was persecuted by *Minos* with great Severity, Diligence, and Inquiry, but he always found the means to avoid and escape his Tyranny. Lastly, he taught his Son *Icarus* to fly, but the Novice, in Ostentation of this Art, soaring too high, fell into the Sea and was drowned.

The Parable seems to be thus: In the beginning of it may be noted that kind of Envy or Emulation that lodgeth, and wonderfully sways and domineers amongst excellent Artificers, there being no kind of People more reciprocally tormented with bitter and deadly hatred than they.

The Banishment also of *Dædalus* (a Punishment inflicted on him against the Rules of Policy and Providence) is worth the noting: For Artificers have this Prerogative to find entertainment and welcome in all Countries, so that Exile to an excellent Workman can hardly be termed a Punishment, whereas other Conditions and States of Life can scarce live out of their own Country. The Admiration of Artificers is propagated and increased in foreign and strange Nations, seeing it is a natural and unbred Disposition of Men to value their own Country-men (in respect of Mechanical Works) less than Strangers.

Concerning the use of Mechanical Arts, that which follows is plain. The Life of Man is much beholden to them, seeing many things (conducting to the Or-

nement of Religion, to the Grace of Civil Discipline, and to the beautifying of all Human Kind) are extracted out of their Treasuries: And yet notwithstanding from the same *Magazine* or Store-house are produced Instruments both of Lust and Death; for to omit the Wiles of Bands, we well know how far exquisite Poisons, Warlike Engines, and such like Mischiefs (the effects of Mechanical Inventions) do exceed the *Minotaur* himself in Malignity and savage Cruelty.

Moreover that of the *Labyrinth* is an excellent Allegory, whereby is shadowed the Nature of Mechanical Sciences; for all such handycraft Works as are more ingenious and accurate, may be compared to a Labyrinth in respect of Subtilty and divers intricate Passages, and in other plain Resemblances, which by the Eye of Judgment can hardly be guided and discerned, but only by the Line of Experience.

Neither is it impertinently added, that he which invented the intricate Nooks of the Labyrinth, did also shew the Commodity of the Clew: For Mechanical Arts are of ambiguous use, serving as well for hurt as for Remedy, and they have in a manner Power both to loose and bind themselves.

Unlawful Trades, and so by consequence, Arts themselves are often persecuted by *Minos*, that is, by Laws, which do condemn them and prohibit Men to use them. Nevertheless they are hid and retained every where, finding lurking Holes and places of

Receipt, which was well observed by *Tacitus* of the Mathematicians and Figure-flingers of his time, in a thing not so much unlike : *Genus Hominum quod in Civitate nostra semper et retinebitur et vetabitur.* There is a kind of Men that will always abide in our City, though always forbidden. And yet notwithstanding unlawful and curious Arts of what kind soever, in tract of time, when they cannot perform what they promise, do fall from the good Opinion that was held of them, (no otherwise than *Icarus* fell down from the skies,) they grow to be contemned and scorned, and so perish by too much Ostentation. And to say the Truth, they are not so happily restrained by the Reins of Law, as bewrayed by their own Vanity.

xx. Ericthonius, or Impof- ture.



THE Poets fable that *Vulcan* solicited *Minerva* for her Virginity, and impatient of denial, with an inflamed Desire offered her Violence, but in struggling his Seed fell upon the Ground, whereof came *Ericthonius*, whose Body from the middle upward, was of a comely and apt Proportion, but his Thighs and Legs like the Tail of an Eel, small and deformed.

To which Monstrosity he being conscious, became the first Inventor of the use of Chariots, whereby that part of his Body which was well proportioned might be seen, and the other which was ugly and uncomely might be hid.

This strange and prodigious Fiction may seem to shew that Art which (for the great use it hath of Fire) is shadowed by *Vulcan*, although it labour by much striving with corporeal Substances to force Nature, and to make her subject to it, (she being for her industrious Works rightly represented by *Minerva*;) yet seldom or never attains the end it aims at, but with much ado and great Pains (wrestling as it were with her) comes short of its Purpose, and produceth certain imperfect Births and lame Works, fair to the Eye, but weak and defective in use, which many Imposters, (with much Subtilty and Deceit) set to View, and carry about, as it were in Triumph, as may for the most part be noted in Chemical Productions, and other Mechanical Subtilties and Novelties, especially when (rather persecuting their Intent, than reclining their Errors) they rather strive to overcome Nature by force, than sue for her Embracements by due Obsequiousness and Observance.

xxi. Deucalion, or Restitution.



THE Poets say, that (the People of the Old World being destroyed by a general Deluge) *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* were only left alive; who praying with fervent and zealous Devotion, that they might know by what means to repair Mankind, had answer from an Oracle that they should obtain what they desired, if taking the Bones of their Mother, they cast them behind their Backs; which at first struck them with great Amazement and Despair, seeing (all things being defaced by the Flood) it would be an endless work to find their Mother's Sepulchre, but at length they understood that by Bones the Stones of the Earth (seeing the Earth was the Mother of all things) were signified by the Oracle.

This Fable seems to reveal a secret of Nature, and to correct an Error familiar to Men's Conceits: For through want of Knowledge Men think that things may take Renovation and Restoration from their Putrefaction and Dregs, no otherwise than the *Phœnix* from the Ashes, which in no case can be admitted, seeing such kind of Materials, when they have fulfilled their Periods, are unapt for the beginnings of such things: We must therefore look back to more common Principles.

XXII. Nemesis, or the Vicissitude of Things.



EMESIS is said to be a Goddess Venerable unto all, but to be feared of none but Potentates and Fortune's Favourites. She is thought to be the Daughter of *Oceanus* and *Nox*. She is portrayed with wings on her Shoulders, and on her Head a Coronet; bearing in her Right Hand a Javelin of *Ash*, and in her Left a Pitcher with the Similitudes of *Æthiopians* engraven on it; and lastly, she is described sitting on a Hart.

The Parable may be thus unfolded. Her Name *Nemesis* doth plainly signify Revenge or Retribution, her Office and Administration being (like a Tribune of the People) to hinder the constant and perpetual Felicity of happy Men, and to interpose her Word, *veto*, I forbid the Continuance of it; that is, not only to chastise Insolency, but to intermix Prosperity (though harmless and in a mean) with the Vicissitudes of Adversity, as if it were a Custom, that no mortal Man should be admitted to the Table of the Gods but for Sport. Truly when I read that Chapter, wherein *Caius Plinius* hath collected his Misfortunes and Miseries of *Augustus Cæsar*, whom

of all Men I thought the most Happy, who had also a kind of Art to use and enjoy his Fortune, and in whose Mind might be noted neither Pride, nor Lightness, nor Niceness, nor Disorder, nor Melancholy, (as that he had appointed a time to die of his own accord,) I then deemed this Goddess to be great and powerful, to whose Altar so worthy a Sacrifice as this was drawn.

The Parents of this Goddess were *Oceanus* and *Nox*, that is, the Vicissitude of things and Divine Judgment obscure and secret: For the Alterations of things are aptly represented by the Sea, in respect of the continual Ebbing and Flowing of it, and hidden Providence is well set forth by the Night: For even the Nocturnal *Nemesis* (seeing Human Judgment differs much from Divine) was seriously observed by the Heathen.

— *Cadit et Ripheus justissimus unus,*
Qui fuit ex Teucris, et servantissimus æqui.
Diis aliter visum — Virgil Æneid. lib. 2.

That Day, by *Greekish* Force, was *Ripheus* slain
 So just and strict Observer of the Law,
 As *Troy* within her Walls, did not contain
 A better Man: Yet God then good it saw.

She is described with Wings, because the Changes of things are so sudden, as that they are seen before foreseen: For in the Records of all Ages, we find it for the most part true, that great Potentates, and

wife Men, have perished by those Misfortunes which they most contemned ; as may be observed in *Marcus Cicero*, who being admonished by *Decius Brutus* of *Octavius Cæsar's* hypocritical Friendship and Hollow-heartedness towards him, returns him this Answer, *Te autem, mi Brute, sicut debeo, amo, quod istud quicquid est nugarum me scire voluisti* : I must ever acknowledge myself (Dear *Brutus*) beholden to thee, in Love, for that thou hast been so careful to acquaint me with that which I esteem but as a needless Trifle to be doubted.

Nemesis is also adorned with a Coronet, to shew the envious and malignant Disposition of the Vulgar, for when Fortune's Favourites and great Potentates come to ruin, then do the common People rejoice, setting, as it were, a Crown upon the Head of Revenge.

The Javelin in her right Hand points at those whom she actually strikes and pierceth through.

And before those, whom she destroys not in their Calamity and Misfortune, she ever presents that black and dismal Spectacle in her left Hand : For questionless to Men sitting as it were upon the Pinnacle of Prosperity, the thoughts of Death and painfulness of Sickness and Misfortunes, perfidiousness of Friends, treachery of Foes, change of Estate, and such like, seem as ugly to the Eye of their Meditations, as those *Æthiopians* pictured in *Nemesis* her Pitcher. *Virgil*, in describing the Battle of *Actium*, speaks thus elegantly of *Cleopatra*.

*Regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina fistro,
Nec dum etiam geminos à tergo respicit angues.*

The Queen amidst this hurly-burly stands,
And with her Country-Timbrel calls her Bands ;
Not spying yet, where crawl'd behind her Back,
Two deadly Snakes with Venom speckled black.

But not long after, which way soever she turned,
Troops of *Æthiopians* were still before her Eyes.

Lastly, It is wisely added, That *Nemesis* rides
upon a Hart, because a Hart is a most lively Creature. And albeit, it may be, that such as are cut off by Death in their Youth, prevent and shun the Power of *Nemesis* ; yet doubtless such, whose Prosperity and Power continue long, are made subject unto her, and lie as it were trodden under her Feet.

XXIII. Achelous, or Battle.



THIS is a Fable of Antiquity, that when *Hercules* and *Achelous* as Rivals contended for the Marriage of *Deianira*, the matter drew them to Combat, wherein *Achelous* took upon him many divers shapes, for so was it in his Power to do, and amongst others, transforming himself into the likeness of a furious wild Bull, assaults *Hercules* and provokes him to

fight. But *Hercules*, for all this, sticking to his old Human Form, courageously encounters him, and so the Combat goes roundly on. But this was the event, That *Hercules* tore away one of the Bull's Horns, wherewith he being mightily daunted and grieved, to ransom his Horn again, was contented to give *Hercules*, in exchange thereof, the *Amalthean-Horn*, or *Cornu-Copia*.

This Fable hath relation unto the Expeditions of War, for the Preparations thereof on the defensive part (expressed in the Person of *Achelous*) are very diverse and uncertain. But the invading Party is most commonly of one sort, and that very single, consisting of an Army by Land, or perhaps of a Navy by Sea. But for a King that in his own Territory expects an Enemy, his occasions are infinite. He fortifies Towns, he assembles Men out of the Countries and Villages, he raiseth Citadels, he builds and breaks down Bridges, he disposeth Garrisons, and placeth Troops of Soldiers on Passages of Rivers, on Ports, on Mountains, and Ambushes in Woods, and is busied with a multitude of other Directions, in-somuch, that every day he prescribeth new Forms and Orders ; and then at last having accommodated all things complete for Defence, he then rightly represents the form and manner of a fierce fighting Bull. On the other side, the Invader's greatest care is, the fear to be distressed for Victuals in an Enemy-Country ; and therefore affects chiefly to hasten on Battle : For if it should happen, that after a Field-

fight, he prove the Victor, and as it were, break the Horn of the Enemy, then certainly this follows, that his Enemy being stricken with Terror, and abased in his Reputation, presently bewrays his weakness, and seeking to repair his loss, retires himself to some stronghold, abandoning to the Conqueror the spoil and sack of his Country and Cities : which may well be termed a Type of the *Amalthean* Horn.

XXIV. Dionysus, or Passions.



THEY say that *Semele*, *Jupiter's* Sweet-heart, (having bound her Paramour, by an irrevocable Oath, to grant her one Request which she would require) desired that he would accompany her in the same form wherein he accompanied *Juno* : Which he granting (as not able to deny) it came to pass, that the miserable Wench was burnt with Lightning. But the Infant which she bare in her Womb, *Jupiter*, the Father, took out, and kept it in a Gash which he cut in his Thigh, till the Months were complete that it should be born. This burden made *Jupiter* somewhat to limp, whereupon the Child (because it was heavy and troublesome to its Father while it lay in his Thigh) was called *Dionysus*. Being born it was committed to *Proserpina* for some Years to be Nurs'd, and being grown up, it had such a maiden

Face, as that a Man could hardly judge whether it were a Boy or Girl. He was dead also, and buried for a time, but afterward revived: Being but a Youth, he invented and taught the planting and dressing of Vines, the making also, and use of Wine; for which, becoming famous and renowned, he subjugated the World, even to the uttermost bounds of *India*. He rode in a Chariot drawn with Tigers. There danced about him certain deformed Hobgoblins called *Cobali*. *Acratus* and others, yea, even the Muses also were some of his Followers. He took to Wife *Ariadne*, forsaken and left by *Theseus*. The Tree sacred unto him was the *Ivy*. He was held the Inventor and Institutor of Sacrifices and Ceremonies, and full of Corruption and Cruelty. He had power to strike Men with Fury and Madness; for it is reported, That at the celebration of his Orgies, two famous Worthies, *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, were torn in Pieces by certain frantic Women, the one because he got upon a Tree to behold their Ceremonies in these Sacrifices; the other for making melody with his Harp: And for his Gods, they are in a manner the same with *Jupiter's*.

There is such excellent morality couched in this Fable, as that moral Philosophy affords not better; for under the Person of *Bacchus* is described the nature of Affection, Passion or Perturbation, the Mother of which (though never so hurtful) is nothing else but the Object of apparent good in the Eyes of Appetite. And it is always conceived in an unlawful

desire, rashly propounded and obtained, before well understood and considered; and when it begins to grow, the Mother of it, which is the desire of apparent good by too much fervency, is destroyed and perisheth. Nevertheless (whilst yet it is an imperfect *Embryo*) it is nourished and preserved in the Human Soul (which is as it were a Father unto it, and represented by *Jupiter*) but especially in the inferior part thereof, as in a Thigh, where also it causeth so much trouble and vexation, as that good determinations and actions are much hindered and lamed thereby; and when it comes to be confirmed by consent and habit, and breaks out as it were into act, it remains yet a while with *Proserpina*, as with a Nurse, that is, it seeks corners and secret places, and as it were, Caves under Ground, until (the Reins of Shame and Fear being laid aside in a pampered audaciousness) it either takes the pretext of some Virtue, or becomes altogether impudent and shameless. And it is most true, that every vehement Passion is of a doubtful Sex, as being Masculine in the first Motion, but Feminine in Prosecution.

It is an excellent Fiction that of *Bacchus's* reviving; for Passions do sometimes seem to be in a dead Sleep, and as it were utterly extinct, but we should not think them to be so indeed, no, though they lie, as it were, in their Grave; for let there be but matter and opportunity offered, and you shall see them quickly to revive again.

The invention of Wine is wittily ascribed unto

him ; every affection being ingenious and skilful in finding out that which brings Nourishment unto it ; and indeed, of all things known to Men, Wine is most powerful and efficacious to excite and kindle Passions of what kind soever, as being in a manner common Nurse to them all.

Again, his conquering of Nations, and undertaking infinite Expeditions is an elegant device ; for Desire never rests content with what it hath, but with an infinite and unsatiable Appetite still covets and gapes after more.

His Chariot also is well said to be drawn by Tigers ; for as soon as any affection shall from going a-foot, be advanced to ride in a Chariot, and shall captivate Reason, and lead her in a Triumph, it grows cruel, untamed, and fierce against whatsoever withstands or opposeth it.

It is worth the noting also, that those ridiculous Hobgoblins are brought in dancing about his Chariot ; for every Passion doth cause in the Eyes, Face and Gesture, certain indecent, and ill-seeming, apish, and deformed Motions ; so that they who in any kind of Passion, as in anger, arrogance, or love, seem glorious and brave in their own Eyes, do yet appear to others misshapen and ridiculous.

In that the Muses are said to be of his company, it shews that there is no affection almost which is not soothed by some Art, wherein the indulgence of Wits doth derogate from the glory of the Muses, who

(when they ought to be the Mistrefs of Life) are made the Waiting-maids of Affections.

Again, where *Bacchus* is said to have loved *Ariadne*, that was rejected by *Theseus*; it is an Allegory of special observation; for it is most certain, that Passions always covet and desire that which Experience forsakes; and they all know (who have paid dear for serving and obeying their Lust) that whether it be Honour, or Riches, or Delight, or Glory, or knowledge, or any thing else which they seek after, yet are they but things cast off, and by divers Men, in all ages after experience had utterly rejected and loathed.

Neither is it without a Mystery, that the *Ivy* was sacred to *Bacchus*; for the Application holds, First, In that the *Ivy* remains green in Winter: Secondly, In that it sticks to, embraceth and overtoppeth so many divers Bodies, as Trees, Walls and Edifices. Touching the first, every passion doth by resistance and reluctance, and as it were by *Antiperistasis* (like the *Ivy* of the cold Winter) grow fresh and lusty. And as for the other, every predominate Affection doth again (like the *Ivy*) embrace and limit all Human Actions and Determinations, adhering and cleaving fast unto them.

Neither is it a wonder, that superstitious Rites and Ceremonies were attributed unto *Bacchus*, seeing every giddy-headed humour keeps in a manner Revel-rout in false Religions; or that the cause of Madnes should be ascribed unto him, seeing every affection is

by Nature a short fury, which (if it grows vehement, and become habitual) concludes in Madnefs.

Concerning the rending and dismembering of *Pentheus* and *Orpheus*, the Parable is plain, for every prevalent affection is outrageous and severe, and against curious inquiry, and wholesome and free admonition.

Lastly, That by confusion of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, their Persons may be well transferred to a Parable, seeing noble and famous Acts, and remarkable and glorious Merits, do sometimes proceed from Virtue, and well ordered Reason and Magnanimity, and sometimes from a secret Affection, and hidden Passion, which are so dignified with the celebrity of Fame and Glory, that a Man can hardly distinguish between the Acts of *Bacchus*, and the Jest of *Jupiter*.

xxv. Atalanta, or Gain.



TALANTA, who was reputed to excel in swiftness, would needs challenge *Hippomenes* at a match in Running. The conditions of the Prize were these : That if *Hippomenes* won the Race, he should espouse *Atalanta* ; if he were out-run, that then he should forfeit his Life. And in the Opinion of all, the victory was thought assured of *Atalanta's* side,

being famous, as she was, for her matchless and unconquerable speed, whereby she had been the bane of many. *Hippomenes* therefore bethinks him how to deceive her by a Trick, and in that regard provides three Golden Apples or Balls, which he purposely carried about him. The Race is begun, and *Atalanta* gets a good start before him. He seeing himself thus cast behind, being mindful of his device, throws one of his Golden Balls before her, and yet not outright, but somewhat of the one side, both to make her linger and also to draw her out of the right course: She, out of a Womanish desire, (being thus enticed by the Beauty of the Golden Apple) leaving her direct Race runs aside, and stoops to catch the Ball, *Hippomenes* the while holds on his course, getting thereby a great start, and leaves her behind him: But she by her own natural swiftness, recovers her lost time, and gets before him again. But *Hippomenes* still continues his flight, and both the second and third times casts out his Balls, those enticing delays; and so by craft, and not by his activity, he wins the Race and Victory.

This Fable seems Allegorically to demonstrate a notable conflict between Art and Nature; for Art (signified by *Atalanta*) in its work (if it be not letted and hindered) is far more swift than Nature, more speedy in pace, and sooner attains the end it aims at, which is manifest almost in every effect: As you may see it in Fruit-trees, whereof those that grow of a Kernel are long ere they bear, but such as are grafted

on a Stock a great deal sooner. You may see it in Clay, which in the generation of Stones, is long ere it becomes hard; but in the burning of Bricks, is very quickly effected. Also in Moral Passages you may observe, that it is a long time ere (by the benefit of Nature) sorrow can be assuaged, and comfort attained; whereas, Philosophy (which is, as it were, Art of Living) carries not the leisure of time, but doth it instantly, and out of hand; and yet this Prerogative and singular agility of Art is hindered by certain Golden Apples to the infinite prejudice of Human proceedings: For there is not any one *Art* or *Science* which constantly perseveres in a true and lawful course, till it comes to the proposed End or Mark; but ever and anon makes stops after good beginnings, leaves the Race, and turns aside to Profit and Commodity, like *Atalanta*.

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

Who doth her course forsake,
The Rolling Gold to take.

And therefore it is no wonder that Art hath not the Power to conquer Nature, and by Pact or Law of Conquest, to kill and destroy her; but on the contrary it falls out, that Art becomes subject to Nature, and yields the Obedience, as a Wife the Husband.

XXVI. Prometheus, or the Statue of Man.



HE Ancients deliver, that *Prometheus* made a Man of Clay, mixed with certain parcels taken from divers Animals, who studying to maintain this his Work by Art, (that he might not be accounted a founder only, but Propagator of Human kind) stole up to Heaven with a bundle of Twigs, which he kindled at the Chariot of the Sun, came down again, and communicated it with Men : And yet they say, (That notwithstanding this excellent work of his,) he was requited with Ingratitude, in a treacherous Conspiracy : For they accused both him and his Invention to *Jupiter*, which was not so taken as was meet it should, for the Information was pleasing to *Jupiter*, and all the Gods. And therefore in a merry Mood, granted unto Men, not only the use of Fire, but perpetual youth also, a Boon most acceptable and desirable. They being, as it were, over-joyed, did foolishly lay this Gift of the Gods, upon the back of an Ass, who being wonderfully oppressed with Thirst, and near a Fountain, was told by a Serpent (which had the custody thereof) that he should not drink, unless he would promise to give him the Burthen that was on his Back. The silly Ass ac-

cepted the condition, and so the restoration of Youth (sold for a draught of Water) past from Men to Serpents. But *Prometheus* full of Malice, being reconciled unto Men, after they were frustrated of their Gift, but in a Chafe yet with *Jupiter*, feared not to use deceit in Sacrifice: For having killed two Bulls, and in one of their Hides wrapped up the Flesh and Fat of them both, and in the other only the Bones, with a great shew of Religious Devotion, gave *Jupiter* his choice, who (detesting his Fraud and Hypocrisy, but taking an occasion of Revenge) chose that which was stopped with Bones, and so turning to Revenge (when he saw that the Insolency of *Prometheus* would not be represented, but by laying some grievous Affliction upon Mankind, in the forming of which he so much bragged and boasted) commanded *Vulcan* to frame a goodly beautiful Woman, which being done, every one of the Gods bestowed a Gift on her; whereupon she was called *Pandora*. To this Woman they gave, in her hand, a goodly Box full of all Miseries and Calamities, only in the bottom of it they put *Hope*; with this Box she comes first to *Prometheus*, thinking to catch him, if peradventure he should accept it at her hands, and so open it; which he nevertheless, with good Providence and Foresight refused. Whereupon she goes to *Epimetheus* (who though Brother to *Prometheus*, yet was of a much differing disposition) and offers this Box unto him, who without delay took it, and rashly opened it; but when he saw that all kind of Miseries

came fluttering about his Ears, being wise too late, with great speed and earnest endeavour clapped on the Cover, and so with much ado retained *Hope* sitting alone in the bottom ; at last *Jupiter* laying many and grievous Crimes to *Prometheus's* charge (as that he had stolen Fire from Heaven, that in contempt of his Majesty, he sacrificed a Bull's Hide stuffed with Bones, that he scornfully rejected his Gift, and besides all this that he offered violence to *Pallas*) cast him into Chains, and doomed him to perpetual Torment : And by *Jupiter's* Command, was brought to the Mountain *Caucasus*, and there bound fast to a Pillar that he could not stir ; there came an Eagle also, that every day sat tiring upon his Liver and wasted it, but as much as was eaten in the day, grew again in the Night, that Matter for Torment to work upon might never decay. But yet they say there was an end of this Punishment. For *Hercules* crossing the Ocean in a Cup, which the Sun gave him, came to *Caucasus*, and set *Prometheus* at liberty, by shooting the Eagle with an Arrow. Moreover in some Nations there were instituted in the honours of *Prometheus*, certain Games of Lamp-bearers, in which they that strive for the Prize, were wont to carry Torches lighted ; which who so suffered to go out, yielded the Place and Victory to those that followed, and so cast back themselves ; so that whosoever came first to the Mark with his Torch burning, got the Prize.

This Fable demonstrates and presseth many true

and grave Speculations, wherein some things have been heretofore well noted, others not so much as touched.

Prometheus doth clearly and elegantly signify *Providence*: For in the Universality of Nature, the Fabrick and Constitution of Man only was by the Ancients picked out and chosen, and attributed unto *Providence*, as a peculiar Work. The reason of it seems to be, not only in that the Nature of Man is capable of a mind and understanding, which is the Seat of *Providence*; and therefore it would seem strange and incredible, that the reason and mind should so proceed and flow from dumb and deaf Principles, as that it should necessarily be concluded, the Soul of Man to be endued with Providence, not without the example, intention, and stamp of a greater Providence. But this also is chiefly propounded, that Man is as it were the Centre of the World, in respect of final Causes, so that if Man were not in Nature, all things would seem to stray and wander without purpose, and like scattered Branches (as they say) without inclinations to their end: For all things attend on Man, and he makes use of, and gathers Fruit from all Creatures: For the revolutions and periods of Stars make both for the distinctions of Times, and the distribution of the World's light. *Meteors* also are referred to presages of Tempests; and Winds are ordained as well for Navigation, as for turning of Mills, and other Engines: And Plants, and Animals of what kind soever, are useful either

for Men's Houses, and Places of shelter, or for Raiment, or for Food, or Medicine, or for ease of Labour, or in a word, for delight and solace ; so that all things seem to work, not for themselves, but for Man.

Neither is it added without consideration that certain Particles were taken from divers living Creatures, and mixed and tempered with that clayey Mass, because it is most true that of all things comprehended within the compass of the Universe, Man is a thing most mixed and compounded, insomuch that he was well termed by the Ancients, a little World ; for although the *Chymicks* do, with too much Curiosity, take and wrest the elegance of this Word (*Microcosm*) to the Letter, contending to find in Man all Minerals, all Vegetables and the rest, or any thing that holds proportion with them ; yet this proposition remains sound and whole, that the Body of Man, of all material beings is found to be most compounded, and most organical, whereby it is endued and furnished with most admirable Virtues and Faculties. And as for simple Bodies, their Powers are not many, though certain and violent, as existing without being weakened, diminished or stunted by mixture ; for the multiplicity and excellency of Operation have their residence in mixture and composition, and yet nevertheless, Man in his Originals seems to be a thing unarmed and naked, and unable to help itself, as needing the aid of many things ; therefore *Prometheus* made haste to find out Fire, which suppeditates and yields comfort and help in a

manner, to all human Wants and Necessities: so that if the Soul be the Form of forms, and if the Hand be the Instrument of Instruments; Fire deserves well to be called the Succour of Succours, or the Help of Helps, which infinite ways affords aid and assistance to all Labours and Mechanical Arts, and to the Sciences themselves.

The manner of stealing this fire is aptly described, even from the nature of things: It was, they say, by a bundle of Twigs held to touch the Chariot of the Sun: For Twigs are used in giving Blows or Stripes, to signify clearly, that fire is engendered by the violent percussion and mutual collision of Bodies, by which their material Substances are attenuated and set in Motion, and prepared to receive the heat or influence of the Heavenly Bodies; and so in a clandestine manner, and as it were by stealth, may be said to take and snatch Fire from the Chariot of the Sun.

There follows next a remarkable part of the Parable, that Men instead of Gratulation and Thanksgiving, were angry, and expostulated the Matter with *Prometheus*, Infomuch that they accused both him and his Invention unto *Jupiter*, which was so acceptable to him, that he augmented their former Commodities with a new Bounty. Seems it not strange, that Ingratitude towards the Author of a Benefit (a Vice that in a manner contains all other Vices) should find such Approbation and Reward? No, it seems to be otherwise: For the meaning of

the Allegory is this, that Men's out-cries upon the defects of Nature and Art, proceed from an excellent disposition of the Mind, and turn to their good, whereas the silencing of them is hateful to the Gods, and redounds not so much to their Profit: For they that infinitely extol Human Nature, or the knowledge they possess, breaking out into a prodigal admiration of that they have and enjoy, adoring also those Sciences they profess, would have them be accounted perfect; they do first of all shew little Reverence to the divine Nature, by equalizing, in a manner, their own Defects with God's Perfection: Again, they are wonderfully injurious to Men, by imagining they have attained the highest step of knowledge, (resting themselves contented) seek no further. On the contrary, such as bring Nature and Art to the Bar with Accusations, and Bills of Complaint against them, are indeed of more true and moderate Judgments; For they are ever in Action, seeking always to find out new Inventions. Which makes me much to wonder at the foolish and inconsiderate Dispositions of some Men, who (making themselves Bond-slaves to the Arrogancy of a few) have the Philosophy of the Peripateticks (containing only a Portion of *Græcian* Wisdom, and that but a small one neither) in so great esteem, that they hold it, not only an unprofitable, but a suspicious, and almost heinous thing, to lay any imputation of Imperfection upon it. I approve rather of *Empedocles'* Opinion (who like a Mad-man, and of *Democritus'* Judgment,

who with great moderation complained how that all things were involved in a Mist) that we knew nothing, that we discerned nothing, that Truth was drowned in the depths of Obscurity, and that false things were wonderfully joined and intermixed with true (as for the new Academy that exceeded all measure) than of the confident and pronounciative School of *Aristotle*. Let Men therefore be admonished, that by acknowledging the Imperfection of Nature and Art, they are grateful to the Gods, and shall thereby obtain new Benefits and greater Favours at their bountiful Hands; and the Accusation of *Prometheus* their Author and Master (though bitter and vehement) will conduce more to their profit, than to the effuse in the Congratulation of his Invention : For, in a Word, the opinion of having enough, is to be accounted one of the greatest Causes of having too little.

Now as touching the kind of Gift which Men are said to have received in reward of their Accusation (to wit, an ever-fading Flower of Youth) it is to shew that the Ancients seemed not to despair of attaining the Skill by Means and Medicines, to put off Old Age, and to prolong Life, but this to be numbered rather among such things (having been once happily attained unto) are now through Men's Negligence and Carelessness, utterly perished and lost; than among such as have been always denied and never granted : For they signify and shew, that by affording the true use of Fire, and by a good and stern Accusation and Conviction of the Errors of Art, the

Divine Bounty is not wanting unto Men in the obtaining of such Gifts, but Men are wanting to themselves in laying this Gift of the Gods upon the back of a silly slow-paced Ass, which may seem to be Experience, a stupid thing, and full of Delay: From whose leisurely and Snail-like pace, proceeds that Complaint of Life's Brevity, and Art's Length. And to say the Truth, I am of this opinion, that those two Faculties, *Dogmatical* and *Empirical*, are not as yet well joined and coupled together, but as new Gifts of the Gods imposed either upon Philosophical Abstractions, as upon a flying Bird, or upon slow and dull Experience, as upon an Ass. And yet methinks, I would not entertain an ill Conceit of this Ass, if it meet not for the accidents of Travel and Thirst: For I am persuaded that who so constantly goes on, by the Conduct of Experience as by a certain Rule and Method, and not covets to meet with such Experiments by the way, as conduce either to Gain or Ostentation, (to obtain which, he must be fain to lay down, and sell this Burthen) may prove no unfit Porter to bear his new addition of divine Munificence.

Now, in that this Gift is said to pass from Men to Serpents, it may seem to be added to the Fable for Ornament's sake in a manner, unless it were inserted to shame Men, that having the use of that Cœlestial Fire, and of so many Arts, are not able to get unto themselves such things as Nature itself bestows upon many other Creatures.

But that sudden Reconciliation of Men to *Prometheus*, after they were frustrated of their Hopes, contains a profitable, and wise Note, shewing the Levity and Temerity of Men in new Experiments; for if they have not present Success, answerable to their Expectation, with too sudden haste desist from that they began, and with Precipitancy returning to their former Experiments, are reconciled to them again.

The State of Man, in respect of Arts, and such things as concern the Intellect, being now described, the Parable passeth to Religion: For after the planting of Arts, follows the setting of Divine Principles, which Hypocrisy hath over-spread and polluted. By that two-fold Sacrifice therefore is elegantly shadowed out the Persons of a true Religious Man, and a Hypocrite. In the one is contained Fatness, (which by reason of the Inflammation and Fumes thereof,) is called, *The Portion of God*; by which his Affection and Zeal, (tending to God's Glory, and ascending towards Heaven) is signified. In him also are contained the Bowels of Charity, and in him is found that good and wholesome Flesh. Whereas in the other, there is nothing but dry and naked Bones; which nevertheless, do stuff up the Hide, and make it appear like a fair and goodly Sacrifice: By this may be well meant those external and vain Rites and empty Ceremonies by which Men do oppress and fill up the sincere Worship of God, things composed rather for Ostentation, than any way conducing to true Piety. Neither do they hold it sufficient to offer

such mock Sacrifices unto God, except they also lay them before him, as if he had chosen and bespoke them. Certainly the Prophet in the Person of God, doth thus expostulate concerning this Choice, *Isa.* 58, 5. *Num tandem hoc est illud Jejunium quod ELIGI, ut homo animam suam in diem unum affligat, et caput instar junceti demittat?* Is it such a Fast, that I have chosen, that a Man should afflict his Soul for a Day, and to bow down his Head like a Bulrush?

Having now touched the State of Religion, the Parable converts itself to the Manners and Conditions of Human Life. And it is a common, but apt Interpretation, by *Pandora* to be meant Pleasure and Voluptuousness; which (when the civil Life is pampered with too much Art, and Culture, and Superfluity,) is engendered, as it were, by the efficacy of Fire, and therefore the work of Voluptuousness is attributed unto *Vulcan*, who also himself doth represent Fire. From this do infinite Miseries, together with too late Repentance, proceed, and overflow the Minds, and Bodies, and Fortunes of Men, and that not only in respect of particular Estates, but even over Kingdoms and Commonwealths; for from this Fountain have Wars, Tumults, and Tyrannies derived their Original.

But it would be worth the Labour to consider how elegantly and proportionably this Fable doth delineate two Conditions; or (as I may say) two Tables or Examples of Human Life, under the Per-

sons of *Prometheus* or *Epimetheus*; for they that are of *Epimetheus*' Sect, are improvident, not foreseeing what may come to pass hereafter; esteeming that best which seems most sweet for the present; whence it happens, that they are overtaken with many Miseries, Difficulties, and Calamities, and so lead their Lives almost in perpetual Affliction; but yet notwithstanding they please their Fancy, and out of Ignorance of the Passages of things, do entertain many vain hopes in their Mind, whereby they sometimes (as with sweet Dreams) solace themselves, and sweeten the Miseries of their Life. But they that are *Prometheus*' Scholars, are Men endued with Prudence, foreseeing things to come, warily shunning, and avoiding many Evils and Misfortunes. But to these their good Properties, they have also annexed, that they deprive themselves, and defraud their *Genius* of many lawful Pleasures, and divers Recreations, and (which is worse,) they vex, and torment themselves with Cares and Troubles, and intestine Fears; for being chained to the Pillar of Necessity, they are afflicted with innumerable Cogitations, (which, because they are very swift, may be fitly compared to an Eagle,) and those griping, and as it were, gnawing and devouring the Liver, unless sometimes, as it were, by Night, it may be they get a little Recreation, and ease of Mind; but so, as that they are again suddenly assaulted with fresh Anxieties and Fears.

Therefore this Benefit happens to but a very few of either Condition, that they should retain the Com-

modities of Providence, and free themselves from the Miseries of Care and Perturbation; neither indeed can any attain unto it, but by the assistance of *Hercules*, that is, Fortitude, and Constancy of Mind, which is prepared for every Event and armed in all Fortunes, foreseeing without Fear, enjoying without loathing, and suffering without Impatience. It is worth the noting also, that this Virtue was not natural to *Prometheus*, but adventitial, and from the Indulgence of another; for no in-bred and natural Fortitude is able to encounter with these Miseries. Moreover, this Virtue was received and brought unto him from the remotest part of the *Ocean*, and from the *Sun*, that is, from Wisdom, as from the *Sun*; and from the Meditation of Inconstancy, or of the Waters of Human Life, as from the sailing upon the Ocean; which two *Virgil* hath well conjoined in these Verses;

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas:
Quique metus omnes, et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.*

Happy is he that knows the causes of things:
And that with dauntless courage treads upon
All Fear and Fates, relentless Threatenings,
And greedy Throat of roaring *Acheron*.

Moreover, it is elegantly added for the Consolation and Confirmation of Men's Minds, that this noble *Hero* crossed the Ocean in a Cup or Pan, lest per-

adventure, they might too much fear that the straits and frailty of their Nature will not be capable of this Fortitude and Constancy. Of which very thing *Seneca* well conceived, when he said, *Magnum est habere simul fragilitatem hominis, et securitatem Dei*. It is a great matter for Human Frailty and Divine Security to be at one and the self-same time, in one and the self-same Subject.

But now we are to step back a little again to that, which by Premeditation we passed over, lest a Breach should be made in those things that were so linked together. That therefore which I could touch here, is that last Crime imputed to *Prometheus*, about seeking to bereave *Minerva* of her Virginity: For questionless, it was this heinous Offence that brought that Punishment of devouring his Liver upon him; which is nothing else but to shew, that when we are puffed up with too much Learning and Science, they go about oftentimes to make even Divine Oracles subject to Sense and Reason; whence most certainly follows a continual Distraction, and restless griping of the Mind; we must therefore with a sober, and humble Judgment, distinguish between Humanity and Divinity, and between the Oracles of Sense, and the Mysteries of Faith, unless a Heretical Religion, and a commentitious Philosophy be pleasing unto us.

Lastly, it remains that we say something of the Games of *Prometheus*, performed with burning Torches, which again hath reference to Arts and Sciences, as that Fire, in whose Memory, and Cele-

bration, these Games were instituted, and it contains in it a most wise Admonition, that the perfection of Sciences to be expected from Succession, not from the Nimbleness and Promptness of one only Author; for they that are nimblest in Course, and strongest in Contention, yet haply have not the luck to keep Fire still in their Torch; seeing it may be as well extinguished by running too fast, as by going too slow. And this running and contending with Lamps, seems long since to be intermitted, seeing all Sciences seem even now to flourish most in their first Authors, *Aristotle, Galen, Euclid and Ptolomy*; Succession having neither effected, nor almost attempted any great Matter. It were therefore to be wished, that these Games, in honour of *Prometheus*, or Human Nature, were again restored, and that Matters should receive Success by Combat and Emulation, and not hang upon any one Man's sparkling and shaking Torch. Men therefore are to be admonished to rouse up their Spirits, and try their Strengths and Turns, and not to refer all to the Opinions and Brains of a few.

And thus have I delivered that which I thought good to observe out of this so well known, and common Fable; and yet I will not deny, but that there may be some things in it, which have an admirable Consent with the Mysteries of Christian Religion, and especially that failing of *Hercules*, in a Cup, (to set *Prometheus* at liberty,) seems to represent an Image of the Divine Word, coming in Flesh, as in a

frail Vessel, to redeem Man from the Slavery of *Hell*. But I have interdicted my Pen all Liberty in this kind, lest I should use strange Fire at the Altar of the Lord.

xxvii. Scylla and Icarus, or the Middle Way.



EDIOCRITY, or the *Middle-way*, is most commended in Moral Actions; in Contemplative Sciences, not so celebrated, though no less profitable and commodious; but in Political Employments, to be used with great heed and Judgment. The Ancients by the way, prescribed by *Icarus*, noted the *Mediocrity* of Manners; and by the Way between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* (so famous for Difficulty and Danger,) the *Mediocrity* of intellectual Operations.

Icarus being to cross the Sea by flight, was commanded by his Father, that he should fly neither too high nor too low; for his Wings being joined with Wax, if he should mount too high, it was to be feared lest the Wax should melt by the heat of the Sun; and if too low, lest misty Vapours of the Sea would make it less tenacious; but he in a youthful Jollity soaring too high, fell down headlong, and perished in the Water.

The Parable is easy and vulgar; for the way of

Virtue lies in a direct Path between Excess and Defect. Neither is it a wonder that *Icarus* perished by Excess, seeing that Excess for the most part, is the peculiar Fault of Youth, as Defect is of Age, and yet of two evil and hurtful ways, Youth commonly makes choice of the better, Defect being always accounted worst; for whereas Excess contains some Sparks of Magnanimity, and, like a Bird, claims kindred of the Heavens, Defect, only like a base Worm, crawls upon the Earth. Excellently therefore said *Heraclitus*, *Lumen siccum, optima Anima*; a dry Light is the best Soul; for if the Soul contract moisture from the Earth, it becomes degenerate altogether. Again, on the other side, there must be Moderation used, that this Light be subtilized by this laudable Siccity, and not destroyed by too much Fervency. And thus much every Man for the most part knows.

Now they that would sail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis* must be furnished, as well with the Skill, as prosperous Success in Navigation: For if their Ships fall into *Scylla* they are split on the Rocks: If into *Charybdis* they are swallowed up of a Gulf.

The Moral of this Parable (which we will but briefly touch, although it contain Matter of infinite Contemplation) seems to be this: That in every Art and Science, and so in their Rules and Axioms, there be a mean observed between the Rocks of Distinctions, and the Gulfs of Universalities; which two are famous for the Wreck both of Wits and Arts.

XXVIII. Sphynx, or Science.



HEY say that *Sphynx* was a Monster of divers Forms, as having the Face and Voice of a Virgin, the Wings of a Bird, and the Talons of a Griffin.

His abode was in a Mountain near the City of *Thebes*, he kept also the Highways, and used to lie in Ambush for Travellers, and so to surprize them : To whom (being in his Power) he propounded certain dark and intricate Riddles, which were thought to have been given and received of the Muses. Now if these miserable Captives were not able instantly to resolve and interpret them in the midst of their Difficulties and Doubts, she would rend and tear them in pieces. The Country groaning a long time under this Calamity, the *Thebans* at last propounded the Kingdom as a Reward unto him that could interpret the Riddles of *Sphynx*, there being no other way to destroy her : Whereupon *Ædipus* (a Man of piercing and deep Judgment, but Maimed and Lane, by reason of Holes bored in his Feet,) moved with the hope of so great a Reward, accepted the Condition, and determined to put it to the hazard ; and so with an undaunted and bold Spirit, presented himself before the Monster ; who asked him what Creature that was, which after his Birth, went first upon four

Feet, next, upon two, then upon three, and lastly, upon four Feet again, answered forthwith, that it was Man; which in his Infancy, immediately after Birth, crawls upon all four, scarce venturing to creep, and not long after, stands upright upon two Feet; then growing old, he leans upon a Staff wherewith he supports himself, so that he may seem to have three Feet; and at last, in decrepid Years, his Strength failing him, he falls grovelling again upon four, and lies bedrid. Having therefore by this true Answer gotten the Victory, he instantly flew this *Sphinx*, (and laying her Body upon an Ass,) lead it, as it were, in Triumph; and so according to the Condition, was created King of the *Thebans*.

This Fable contains in it no less Wisdom than Elegancy, and it seems to point at Science, especially that which is joined with Practice, for Science may not absurdly be termed a Monster, as being by the ignorant and rude Multitude always held in Admiration. It is diverse in Shape and Figure, by reason of the infinite variety of Subjects, wherein it is conversant. A Maiden Face and Voice is attributed unto it for its gracious countenance and volubility of Tongue. Wings are added, because Sciences and their Inventions do pass and fly from one to another, as it were, in a moment, seeing that the Communication of Science, is as the kindling of one Light at another. Elegantly also it is feigned to have sharp and hooked Talons, because the Axioms and Arguments of Science do so fasten upon the Mind, and so

strongly apprehend and hold it, as that it stir not or evade, which is noted also by the Divine Philosopher, *Eccles.* 12, 12. *Verba sapientum (saith he) sunt tanquam aculei et veluti clavi in altum defixi.* The words of the Wise are like Goads, and Nails driven far in.

Moreover, all Science seems to be placed in steep and high Mountains; as being thought to be a lofty and high thing, looking down upon Ignorance with a scornful Eye. It may be observed and seen also a great way, and far in compass, as things set on the tops of Mountains.

Furthermore, Science may well be feign'd to beset the Highway, because which way soever we turn in this Progress and Pilgrimage of Human Life, we meet with some matter or occasion offered for Contemplation.

Sphinx is said to have received from the Muses divers difficult Questions and Riddles, and to propound them unto Men, which remaining with the Muses, are free (it may be) from savage Cruelty; for so long as there is no other end of Study and Meditation, than to know, the Understanding is not racked and imprisoned, but enjoys Freedom and Liberty, and even Doubts and Variety find a kind of Pleasure and Delectation: But when once these *Enigmas* are delivered by the Muses to *Sphinx*, that is, to Practice, so that if it be solicited and urged by Action and Election, and Determination; then they begin to be troublesome and raging; and unless they be resolved

and expedited, they do wonderfully torment and vex the Minds of Men, distracting, and in a manner rending them into sundry Parts.

Moreover, there is always a twofold Condition propounded with *Sphynx's Enigmas*: To him that doth not expound them, distraction of Mind; and to him that doth, a Kingdom; for he that knows that which he sought to know, hath attained the end he aimed at, and every Artificer also commands over his Work.

Of *Sphynx's* Riddles, they are generally two kinds; some concerning the Nature of things, others touching the Nature of Men. So also there are two kinds of Empires, as Rewards to those that resolve them. The one over Nature, the other over Men; for the proper and chief end of true Natural Philosophy is to command and sway over Natural Beings; as Bodies, Medicines, Mechanical Works, and infinite other things; although the School (being content with such things as are offered, and priding itself with Speeches) doth neglect Realities and Works, treading them as it were under foot. But that *Enigma* propounded to *Œdipus* (by means of which he obtained the *Theban* Empire) belonged to the Nature of Man: For whosoever doth thoroughly consider the Nature of Man, may be in a manner the Contriver of his own Fortune, and is born to command, which is well spoken of the *Romans' Arts*:

*Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
Hæ tibi erunt Artes —*

Roman, remember, that with Sceptres' awe
Thy Realms thou rule. These Arts let be thy
Law.

It was therefore very apposite, that *Augustus Cæsar* (whether by Premeditation, or by a Chance) bare a *Sphinx* in his Signet: For he (if ever any) was famous not only in Political Government, but in all the course of his Life; he happily discovered many new *Enigmas* concerning the Nature of Man, which if he had not done with Dexterity and Promptness, he had oftentimes fallen into imminent Danger and Destruction.

Moreover, it is added in the Fable, that the Body of *Sphinx*, when she was overcome, was laid upon an Ass; which indeed is an elegant Fiction, seeing there is nothing so acute and abstruse, but (being well understood, and divulged,) may be well apprehended by a slow capacity.

Neither is it to be omitted, that *Sphinx* was overcome by a Man lame in his Feet; for when Men are too swift of Foot, and too speedy of Pace, in hasting to *Sphinx's Enigmas*, it comes to pass, that (she getting the upper hand) their Wits and minds are rather distracted by Disputations, than that ever they come to command by Works and Effects.

XXIX. Proserpina, or Spirit.



PLUTO, they say, being made King of the Infernal Dominions, (by that memorable Division,) was in despair of ever attaining any one of the Superior Goddeses in Marriage, especially if he should venture to court them, either with Words, or with any amorous Behaviour; so that of Necessity he was to lay some Plot to get one of them by Rapine: Taking therefore the Benefit of Opportunity, he caught up *Proserpina* (the Daughter of *Ceres*, a beautiful Virgin,) as she was gathering *Narcissus-Flowers* in the Meadows of *Sicily*, and carried her away with him in his Coach to the Subterranean Dominions; where she was welcomed with such Respect, as that she was stiled the Lady of *Dis*. But *Ceres*, her Mother, when in no place she could find this her only beloved Daughter, in a sorrowful Humour, and distracted beyond measure, went compassing the whole Earth, with a burning Torch in her hand, to seek, and recover this her lost Child. But when she saw that all was in vain, supposing peradventure, that she was carried to Hell, she importuned *Jupiter* with many Tears and Lamentations, that she might be restored unto her again; and at length, prevailed thus far,

That if she had tasted of nothing in Hell, she should have leave to bring her from thence. Which Condition was as good as a Denial to her Petition, *Proserpina* having already eaten three Grains of a *Pomegranate*: And yet for all this, *Ceres* gave not over her Suit, but fell to Prayers and Moans afresh: Wherefore, it was at last granted, that (the Year being divided) *Proserpina* should by alternate Courses, remain one six Months with her Husband, and the other six Months with her Mother. Not long after this, *Theseus*, and *Perithous*, in an over-hardy Adventure, attempted to fetch her from *Pluto's* Bed; who, being weary with Travel, and sitting down upon a stone in Hell, to rest themselves, had not the power to rise again; but sat there for ever. *Proserpina* therefore remained Queen of Hell, in whose Honour there was this great privilege granted, That although it were enacted, that none that went down to Hell, should have the power ever to return from thence; yet was this singular exception annexed to this Law, That if any presented *Proserpina* with a Golden Bough, it should be lawful for him to go and come at his Pleasure. Now there was but one only such a Bough in a spacious and shady Grove, which was not a Plant neither of itself, but budded from a Tree of another kind, like a Rope of Gum, which being plucked off, another would instantly spring out.

This Fable seems to pertain to Nature, and to dive into that rich and plentiful efficacy and variety

of subaltern Creatures, from whom whatsoever we have is derived, and to them doth again return.

By *Proserpina*, the Ancients meant that Ethereal Spirit, (which being separated from the upper Globe) is shut up and detained under the Earth (represented by *Pluto*) which the Poet well expressed thus :

*Sive recens Tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina Cæli.*

Whether the Youngling *Tellus* (that of late Was from the high-reared *Æther* separate) Did yet contain her Teeming Womb within The living Seeds of Heaven her nearest kin.

This Spirit is feigned to be rapt by the Earth, because nothing can withhold it, when it hath time and leisure to escape. It is therefore caught and staid by a sudden Contraction, no otherwise than if a Man should go about to mix Air with Water, which can be done by no means, but by a speedy and rapid Agitation, as may be seen in Froth, wherein the Air is rapt by the Water.

Neither is it inelegantly added, that *Proserpina* was rapt as she was gathering *Narcissus's* Flowers in the Valleys, because *Narcissus* hath his Name from Slowness or Stupidity : For then indeed is this Spirit most prepared and fitted to be snatched by Terrestrial Matter, when it begins to be coagulated, and become as it were flown.

Rightly is *Proserpina* honoured more than any of

the other Gods' Bedfellows, in being stiled the Lady of *Dis*, because this Spirit doth rule and sway all things in those lower Regions, *Pluto* abiding stupid and ignorant.

This Spirit the Power Celestial (shadowed by *Ceres*) strives, with infinite Sedulity, to recover and get again: For that Brand or burning Torch of *Ether* (which *Ceres* carried in her Hand) doth doubtless signify the Sun, which enlighteneth the whole Circuit of the Earth, and would be of greatest moment to recover *Proserpina*, if possible it might be.

But *Proserpina* abides still; the Reason of which is accurately, and excellently propounded in the Conditions between *Jupiter* and *Ceres*: For, first, it is most certain there are two ways to keep Spirit in solid and terrestrial Matter; the one by Constipation, and Obstruction, which is mere Imprisonment and Constraint; the other, by Administration, or proportionable Nutriment, which it receives willingly, and of its own accord: For after that the included Spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it makes no haste to be gone; but is as it were, linked to its Earth: And this is pointed at by *Proserpina's* eating of *Pomegranate*; which if she had not done, she had long since been recovered by *Ceres* with her Torch, compassing the Earth. Now as concerning that Spirit which is in Metals and Minerals, it is chiefly perchance restrained by the solidity of Mass: But that which is in Plants and Animals, inhabits a

porous Body, and hath open Passage to be gone, in a manner, as it lifts, were it not that it willingly abides of its own accord, by reason of the Relish it finds in its Entertainment. The second Condition concerning the six Months' Custom, it is no other than an elegant Description of the Division of the Year; seeing this Spirit mixed with Earth, appears above ground in Vegetable Bodies during the Summer Months, and in the Winter sinks down again.

Now as concerning *Theseus* and *Perithous*, and their Attempt to bring *Proserpina* quite away, the meaning of it is, that it oftentimes comes to pass that some more subtle Spirit descending with divers Bodies to the Earth, never come to suck of any subaltern Spirit, whereby to unite it unto them, and so to bring it away. But on the contrary are coagulated themselves, and never rise more, that *Proserpina* should be by that means augmented with Inhabitants and Dominion.

All that we can say concerning that Sprig of Gold, is hardly able to defend us from the Violence of the *Chymicks*, if in this regard they set upon us, seeing they promise by that their *Elixir* to effect Golden Mountains, and the restoring of Natural Bodies, as it were, from the Portal of Hell. But concerning Chymistry, and those perpetual Suitors for that Philosophical *Elixir*, we know certainly that their *Theory* is without Grounds, and we suspect that their Practice is also without certain Reward. And therefore (omitting these) of this last part of the Parable, this

is my Opinion: I am induced to believe by many Figures of the Ancients, that the Conservation and Restoration of Natural Bodies, in some sort, was not esteemed by them as a thing impossible to be attained, but as a thing abstruse and full of Difficulties; and so they seem to intimate in this place, when they report that this one only Sprig was found among infinite other Trees in a huge and thick Wood, which they feigned to be of Gold, because Gold is the Badge of Perpetuity, and to be artificially as it were inserted, because this Effect is to be rather hoped for from Art, than from any Medicine, or simple or natural means.

xxx. Metis, or Counsel.



THE Ancient Poets report, that *Jupiter* took *Metis* to Wife, whose Name doth plainly signify Counsel, and that she by him conceived. Which when he found, not tarrying the time of her Deliverance, devours both her and that which she went withal, by which means *Jupiter* himself became with Child, and was delivered of a wondrous Birth; for out of his Head or Brain came forth *Pallas* Armed.

The Sense of this Fable (which at first Apprehension may seem monstrous and absurd) contains in it a Secret of State, to wit, with what Policy Kings are

wont to carry themselves towards their Counsellors, whereby they may not only preserve their Authority and Majesty free and entire, but also that it may be the more extolled and dignified of the People: For Kings being as it were tied and coupled in a Nuptial Bond to their Counsellors, do truly conceive that communicating with them about the Affairs of greatest Importance do yet detract nothing from their own Majesty. But when any Matter comes to be censured or decreed (which is a Birth) there do they confine and restrain the liberty of their Counsellors; lest that which is done should seem to be hatched by their Wisdom and Judgment. So as at last Kings (except it be in such Matters as are distasteful and maligned, which they always will be sure to put off from themselves) do assume the Honour and Praise of all Matters that are ruminated in Council, and, as it were, formed in the Womb, whereby the Resolution and Execution (which because it proceeds from Power, and implies Necessity, is elegantly shadowed under the Figure of *Pallas* Armed) shall seem to proceed wholly from themselves. Neither sufficeth it, that it is done by the Authority of the King, by his mere Will and free Applause, except withal, this be added and appropriated as to issue out of his own Head or Brain, intimating, that out of his own Judgment, Wisdom, and Ordinance, it was only invented and derived.

xxxI. The Syrens, or Pleasures.



THE Fable of the *Syrens* seems rightly to have been applied to the pernicious Allurements of Pleasure, but in a very vulgar and gross manner. And therefore to me it appears, that the Wisdom of the Ancients have with a farther reach or insight strained deeper Matter out of them, not unlike the Grapes ill pressed; from which, though some Liquor were drawn, yet the best was left behind. These *Syrens* are said to be the Daughters of *Acchelous*, and *Terpsichore* one of the Muses; who in their first being, were winged, but after rashly entering into Contention with the Muses, were by them vanquished, and deprived of their Wings. Of whose plucked out Feathers the Muses made themselves Coronets, so as ever since that time all the Muses have attired themselves with plumed heads, except *Terpsichore* only, that was Mother to the *Syrens*. The Habitation of the *Syrens* was in certain pleasant Islands, from whence as soon as out of their Watch-Tower they discovered any Ships approaching, with their sweet Tunes they would first entice and stay them, and having them in their Power would destroy them.

Neither was their Song plain and single, but consisting of such variety of melodious Tunes so fitting and delighting the Ears that heard them, as that it ravished and betrayed all Passengers. And so great were the Mischiefs they did, that these Isles of the *Syrens*, even as far off as Man can ken them, appeared all over white with the Bones of unburied Carcasses. For the remedying of this Misery a double Means was at last found out; the one by *Ulysses*, the other by *Orpheus*. *Ulysses* (to make experiment of his Device) caused all the Ears of his Company to be stopped with Wax, and made himself to be bound to the Main-Mast, with special Commandment to his Mariners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But *Orpheus* neglected and disdained to be so bound, and with a shrill and sweet Voice, singing Praises of the Gods to his Harp, suppressed the Songs of the *Syrens*, and so freed himself from their Danger.

This Fable hath relation to Men's Manners, and contains in it a manifest and most excellent Parable: For Pleasures do for the most proceed out of the abundance and superfluity of all things, and also out of the Delights and jovial Contentments of the Mind; the which are wont suddenly, as it were, with winged Inticements to ravish and rap Mortal Men: But Learning and Education brings it so to pass, as that it restrains and bridles Man's Mind, making it so to consider the ends and events of Things, as that

it clips the Wings of Pleasure. And this was greatly to the Honour and Renown of the Muses; for after that by some Examples, it was made manifest, that by the Power of Philosophy, vain Pleasures might grow Contemptible; it presently grew to great esteem, as a thing that could raise, and elevate the Mind aloft, that seemed to be base, and fixed to the Earth; make the cogitations of the Men (which do ever reside in the Head,) to be ethereal, and as it were winged. But that the Mother of the *Syrens* was left to her Feet, and without Wings; that no doubt is no otherwise meant, than of light and superficial Learning, appropriated and designed only to Pleasures, as were those which *Petronius* devoted himself unto, after he had received his fatal Sentence; and having his Foot, as it were, upon the Threshold of Death, sought to give himself all delightful Contentments; insomuch, as when he had caused Consolatory Letters to be sent him, he would peruse none of them, (as *Tacitus* reports, that should give him Courage and Constancy) but only read fantastical Verses, such as these are

*Vivamus, Mea Lesbia, atque amemus,
Rumoresque Senum severiorum,
Omnes unius astimemus Affis.*

My *Lesbia*, let us live and love;
Though wayward Dotards us reprove,
Weigh their Words light for our behave.

And this also :

*Jura Senes norint, et quid sit fasque nefasque,
Inquirant tristes, Legumque examina sercent.*

Let doting Granfire know the Law,
And right and wrong observe with awe ;
Let them in that strict Circle draw.

This kind of Doctrine would easily persuade to take these plumed Coronets from the Muses, and to restore the Wings again to the *Syrens*. These *Syrens* are said to dwell in remote Isles ; for that Pleasures love Privacy, and retired Places, shunning always too much Company of People. The *Syren's* Songs are so vulgarly understood, together with the Deceits and Danger of them, as that they need no Exposition. But that of the Bones appearing like white Cliffs, and descried afar off, hath more Acuteness in it ; for thereby is signified, that, albeit the Examples of Afflictions be manifest, and eminent ; yet do they not sufficiently deter us from the wicked Enticements of Pleasures.

As for the Remainder of this Parable, though it be not over-mystical, yet it is very grave, and excellent : For in it are set out three Remedies for this violent, enticing Mischief ; to wit, Two from Philosophy, and one from Religion. The first Means to shun these inordinate Pleasures, is, to withstand, and

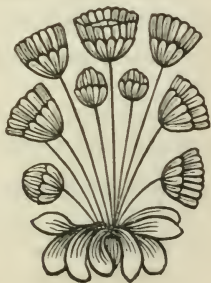
resist them in their Beginnings, and seriously to shun all Occasions that are offered, to debauch and entice the Mind, which is signified in that stopping of the Ears; and that Remedy is properly used by the meaner and baser sort of People, as it were *Ulysses'* Followers or Mariners; whereas more Heroick and Noble Spirits may boldly Converse even in the midst of these seducing Pleasures, if with a resolved Constancy they stand upon their Guard, and fortify their Minds; and so take greater Contentment in the trial and experience of this their approved Virtue; learning rather thoroughly to understand the Follies and Vanities of those Pleasures by Contemplation, than by Submission: Which *Solomon* avouched of himself, when he reckoned up the multitude of those Solaces and Pleasures wherein he Swam, doth conclude with this Sentence,

Sapientia quoque perseverabat mecum.

Wisdom also continued with me.

Therefore these *Heroes*, and Spirits of this excellent Temper, even in the midst of these enticing Pleasures, can shew themselves constant and invincible, and are able to support their own virtuous inclination, against all heady and forcible Persuasions whatsoever; as by the Example of *Ulysses*, that so peremptorily interdicted all pestilent Counsel, and Flatteries of his Companions, as the most dangerous

and pernicious Poisons to captivate the Mind. But of all other Remedies in this Case, that of *Orpheus* is most Predominant : For they that chaunt and re-found the Praises of the Gods, confound and dissipate the Voices and Incantations of the *Syrens* ; for Divine Meditations do not only in Power subdue all sensual Pleasures ; but also far exceed them in Swift-ness and Delight.





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